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Pro-Slavery.

In this Department we give place to such extracts from the Pro-Slavery Press, North and South, as serve best to illustrate the character of Slavery and the spirit of its champions and apologists.

THE JEFF. DAVIS CORRESPONDENCE.

LETTER FROM GEN. GADSDEN OF SOUTH CAROLINA — A GREAT FEDERATION OF THE WEST INDIA ISLANDS SUGGESTED.

THE following letter from Gen. Gadsden, of South Carolina, was found among the captured correspondence of Jeff. Davis. It will be seen that he therein made important suggestions as to a great federation of the West India Islands, stimulated in its prosperity and advancement by African slavery as now existing in the Southern States:

[Private.]

MEXICO, 19th July, 1854.

GENERAL DAVIS—*Dear Sir:* I have only time before the express leaves for a very brief note. The affairs of this republic are in a status rather retrograding; the treasury minus. The possible replenishing by the treaty is already anticipated in contracts to build up a military and naval power. The latter is an absurdity; the former a necessity to sustain the power which Santa Anna weakly aspires to. If he can command a revenue he may have a brief triumph; but the ignorance of himself and Cabinet in not yielding to the spirit and progress of the age, and in vainly hoping that they can sustain the antiquated policy of monopolies and restrictions abandoned by every enlightened country, will prove the downfall of centrality and of tyrannical exactions.

Guerrero maintains her independence. Miciocan is following suit; and the recovery of State sovereignty by those two States, open to the Pacific and accessible to commerce, will enable them to sustain separate nationality, or to force back the federation of the States, which has been absorbed under one nationality. If the leaders in Guerrero and Michoacan understand the trumps of State sovereignty they will achieve a victory, and either remain as separate sovereignties, or reunite with old members under a new federation. It is generally understood that the States along the Rio Grande, with Sonora, Zacatecas, and Durango are in a feverish state, and that most of the exiled republicans are in wait on the frontier, prepared to take part in the first explosion. Information to-day from Vera Cruz reports disaffection in that quarter. It has always been a republican State, and its pronunciamentos generally indorsed by Puebla, the most powerful of the old federation. So you may rest satisfied of one fact, that the political elements are convulsed, and an explosion will upset centralization and restore the federation, and with success expose Santa Anna to another successful retreat into exile, unless, profiting from experience and the indications around, he coalesces with the Republicans and deserts the monarchical influences which have thus far misled and controlled him. Rumor gives him the credit of endeavoring to fraternize with the Republicans or Moderadoes now in conciliation with the Puros. This (if they will trust him) is his only safety. You will see from the proclamation of the Captain-General of Cuba that my speculations on the policy of Spain in relation to that island were not extravagant. If you will compare this document, which you can see in *The Intelligencer* of the 15th of June, with the decree of a previous date on the propagation of African slaves, you will perceive that they are in harmony. The statesmen of the world are awakening to the great truths which the Harpers and the McDuffies of my little State first foreshadowed as to African slavery. The subserviency and dependence of the inferior to the superior class, and the convictions on the part of the ultra Abolitionists have only increased their rabidness, while the work will go on and the designs of Providence be fulfilled. Cuba, whether annexed or remaining a separate sovereignty from Spain and the United States, and carrying out that policy of humanity which Pezuela has proclaimed for securing the "maintenance and prosperity and the increase of slavery," will prove the nucleus of its restoration in the other islands, which by an opposite and mistaken policy are rapidly lapsing into barbarism. Have you ever in your visions dreamt of a great federation of West India islands, stimulated in their prosperity and advancement by African slavery as now existing in the Southern States? History has never recorded such a commercial and naval power as Cuba, St. Domingo, Porto Rico and Jamaica, united under one federation, could rear up. The movements in Cuba make it no longer a dream of the imagination. And if the United States, true to her own interests, would take the initiatory to protect the white race in St. Domingo, and give them the opportunity of recovering their power in that Garden of Eden, from which French incendiarism drove its Adams and its Eves, Hayti and Domingo would sing anthems to their deliverers from barbarism, and their regeneration under the restoration of African slavery. As startling as may seem the speculation, it is a work more easy of accomplishment than the vain effort to free the black man and to regenerate him under an African empire. It is worth consideration, however, and becomes particularly interesting to the Southern States of our federation. Without annexation, and free from those conflicts at Washington to check Southern expansion, there the Southern planter of enterprise would find space enough and inducements enough to seek new homes for himself and domestics in the most lovely domains of God's creation, and all united in harmony under one homogeneous American system. I must again, therefore, invite your consideration to the suggestion in my last, and of the agency I would be pleased to exercise in the examination, if not the promotion, of these hallucinations. I should judge from the movements of Senator Douglas that the report of Gen. Cazeno must have been favorable, and from his letter to *The Evening Post* he seems deeply impressed with some views I have detailed, and which, I presume, must have been the objects of that commission. I presume if diplomatic relations are opened with St. Domingo that General and Mrs. Flora Montgomery will return and have charge. My views were not to supersede those individuals who so merit confidence, but only to be a general inspector through all the islands named, extending to the minor, if deemed advisable, so as to be well informed as to their state and condition, and the design of those who at present direct their destinies. The President of St. Domingo might consult with me in his negotiations, and both comprehending and favoring their policy, act in concert to advance. We cannot begin the work too soon, and a most important preliminary would be, as in Japan, to secure a coal station at Samana. A rendezvous of American steamers at that point would not only afford us the means of protecting American commerce in the Indies and on the coast of South America, but to guard and watch with a faithful eye interests which are growing up in that quarter, and which seem to have incited no little emotion in the United States. If the President and yourself accord to my views and wishes, all that will be necessary will be to put at my disposal the Fulton, to be at Vera Cruz in November, so that we have the Winter months for examination.

Let me hear from you as early as practicable, so that I may go to work to prepare for the "Inquisitorial Cruz." If aught can be done here to enlighten these people and make them understand their true interests as identified with the American system, it will engage my unceasing vigilance. But the Church, the old Spaniards, the monarchical influences, with that of those moneyed changers, whom our Savior drove from the Temple, are so predominant in power that I almost despair of any regeneration in the cause of free trade, as antagonistical to monopolies, restrictions, church temporalities, and all the plunder involved in that policy.

Yours, J. G.

Selections.

MR. FORSTER, M.P., ON THE AMERICAN WAR.

AT a crowded meeting held in the Music Hall, at Leeds, in support of the cause of emancipation in America, and the neutral policy of the British government, Mr. Forster, M.P., delivered the following speech:

Just allow me to say one or two words upon this misunderstanding in both countries. First, as regards ourselves. I think that a great deal of ill-feeling—which I am sorry to see—exist in America, arising from a conscicusness, and in some measure a right-founded consciousness, on their part, that we misconceive this great struggle in its very principle and in its foundation, and that we have, if I may so speak, underrated it (hear, hear). I do not mean that we underrate it in point of the numbers engaged in it. We are quite impressed with the tremendous extent on which the war is carried on. In point of numbers it is greater than almost any other civil war in any age (hear, hear). We are aware also of the immense sufferings which it has caused in America, and which it has caused also in our own country, and we are aware of the tremendous loss of life and money; but many of us, I regret to say, are not alive to the tremendous importance of the principle which is at stake (cheers)—which is, if I may put it in just one sentence, simply this, whether, upon the continent of America, the principle of slavery or the principle of freedom shall predominate (cheers).

THE IMPORTANCE OF THE WAR.

Now, look back at history, and can you put your finger upon any war that was ever carried on in which a greater question was at stake than that? (Cheers.) Many persons say, "It is no use going to hear you; you are a strong Federalist. In answer to that I may say that I am not in every sense a Federalist (hear, hear). I am not blind to the faults of the North (hear, hear). I am not blind to the inconsistency with which this war has been carried on; nor am I blind to the words which some of the statesmen and many of the papers have used towards this country (hear). But I still remember this, that they are, many of them, it is true, quite unconsciously, yet that they are, fighting—and cannot help fighting—the battle for freedom against the Southern Confederacy, who, avowedly and determinedly, and without any attempt at concealment, are fighting the battle of slavery. They tell me I am fanatical upon this question. I do not feel that I owe an apology to an English audience for being fanatical on the question of slavery (hear, hear). As to whether there shall be liberty in this world, is a question upon which no man can be fanatical (hear, hear). Of all political questions which can be brought forward—I will say nothing of philanthropic considerations—this question of freedom from slavery is the most important (cheers).

POLITICAL LIBERTY AND SLAVERY IMPOSSIBLE.

There are men—I confess it fills one with wonder and surprise—men who have done good service to the Liberal cause in past times, who have fought hard for that cause, who yet profess that it is fanaticism to care whether slavery shall or shall not rule over the continent of America (hear, hear). They go so far as to say that it is possible that there can be political liberty where there is domestic slavery. Now, I say that is a great mistake (cheers). If men would learn the very alphabet of freedom they would see that wherever there is domestic slavery, wherever the first political right—a right even above and beyond all politics—the right of man to the disposal of his own body and the government of his own soul (cheers)—where that is denied by the law, political liberty is not safe (cheers). If it be possessed by the master class, that class cannot keep it in safety, and the very words "political liberty" are a farce and a delusion (cheers). History proves that it was because the old Republicans of Rome allowed themselves to be corrupted into domestic slavery that the master class lost their own liberty (hear, hear)— and we find that in the South where the slaveholder had power—to use Carlyle's expression—to hire their negro fellow-countrymen for life—not merely hiring their labor, but hiring the chastity of the women and the souls and brains of the men—that is, to do what they would with that honor, mind, brain, and soul (hear, hear)—when they did that to one class they at the same time deprived their white fellow-citizens of the freedom of speech, the freedom of the press, and almost of the freedom of thought (cheers). There is no more true fact than this, and I do not care if I am again charged with fanaticism for repeating it, that if you look at this question calmly and philosophically, you will find that when this system of domestic slavery is once admitted in any social fabric whatever, it so fastens itself upon its framework that it is utterly impossible that it can live in peace with it unless it masters it (hear, hear). It must master it, or it will go to war with it, and strive to break it up (hear, hear). That was the case in America.

THE UPRISING OF THE NORTH.

Three years ago I looked forward to the future of the United States with fear and trembling. I did not know what punishment God would inflict upon them for having connived at this sin of slavery (hear, hear). Every one saw that that Slave Power had been first stealthily and then openly endeavoring to master the Union and to use every power in the Union for the extension of slavery: that it hung upon the balance whether the great republic of America was to be a great power for the spread of freedom, as we in England had hoped, or for the spread of slavery and its extension and perpetuation throughout the world; whether the whites of America themselves would not lose their freedom in selling themselves to the slaveholders of the South (applause). The freemen of the North took fright; they found out what was going on. They said, "This is no mere negro question, it is no more mere philanthropic question"—and it would have been well for them and for their country if they had felt more strongly the philanthropic part of the question, and the just claims of the negro; but at least they saw the danger to their country, and said, "We will not allow this Slave Power to go on increasing; we will make head against it, we will take care that it does not rule us" (cheers). What followed? The slaveholders, finding that they could no longer wield the American commonwealth to support the system of slavery, said, "We will break up and destroy the Union, and set up a Confederacy of our own." The men of the North, the patriots of the Union, said, "We will not submit to that"; and we, many of us in England, who were utterly reckless of money or life when we thought Russia merely threatened to stop communication with our Eastern possessions—who were still more reckless of money and life to preserve our empire in India—when we know that there is scarcely one of us in this country, of any party, who would not, if it came to the dire alternative, use every power he possessed to keep Ireland as a sister country in Union with England—yet we who know that we have this patriotic feeling, and would undergo the greatest sacrifices before we would allow our country to be cut to pieces or diminished, or to become a weak Power rather than a strong Power—we complained of the North Americans, and said to them "You have entered upon a wicked war," because they would not allow the slaveholders of the South, in order to perpetuate and extend slavery, to break up their country, and make it a divided, a weak, and almost powerless country, instead of a great and powerful one (loud cheers). I say this, that I will give many of those who argue thus the credit that if the same result or anything like it was upon the issue in England they would be as foremost in desiring to prevent their country from being destroyed as the most ardent and fierce Northerner at this moment (hear, hear). That is the way in which this dreadful war has come to pass. I mourn over that war; I lament it. I also think it a wicked war, but I charge the wickedness upon those who began the war in the worst of all possible causes (cheers). I am willing to allow that even with them—for a strange thing is human nature—some of them may have forced themselves into the belief that they were in a good cause. I don't pretend to deny the valor of the men of the South; I will not deny that they have shown many fine qualities in this war. I will go even further, and say that it is very difficult for men, even in a bad cause, to have submitted to the sacrifices and self-denial which many men in the South have undergone, without coming out of it purified and better than when they went in.

THE MODE OF CONDUCTING THE WAR, AND ITS RESULT.

But while that is the case, I cannot forget upon which side the right is [hear, hear]. Though I lament more than I can speak the suffering which is the result of this war, and the crimes which have been committed on both sides, from the presence of an influential American, I cannot but say it would be well if the public opinion of America were raised more strongly against the atrocities committed in the Northern States as well as in the Southern [hear, hear]. I am well aware that in a tremendous crisis like this there are strong temptations, and that even Christian and patriotic people find it difficult to prevent war being carried on other than with that ferocity which, more or less, always accompanies war. Still, great as are the temptations, Christians must not forget their duty. Nevertheless, I say, much as we lament this war, its sufferings and crimes, I do from the very bottom of my heart rejoice at what we may now hope will be the result of it [applause]. After many changes up and down—after it had appeared as if this Slave Power would be victorious and triumphant, and that we should, in this 19th century, see successful the attempt to raise a great new fabric, whose corner-stone was slavery (and such an attempt to retard the course of progress has not been attempted since Julian attempted to stop the progress of Christianity)—at last a change has come. Look for a moment at what would have been the case if the Slave Power had succeeded, and we had been left to Mr. Gladstone's hope, that in its success would be its failure. I believe there would eventually have been a failure if the South had been triumphant. They would have raised against them the public opinion of the world, and freedom would have been triumphant eventually, because there is a God that rules the world, and not a devil [loud cheers]. But terrible as is now the contest, it would then have been even more terrible, for the Slave Power would have been stronger; and now that the contest has come, I rejoice that we can foresee this result, that, whatever else comes out of it—whether a restored Union, which does not now seem impossible, or a subordinate, hemmed up, weak, slaveholding republic in the cotton States, this, at least, is certain—the dream of the slaveholders of a slave empire has disappeared, and out of this war we shall get this compensation, that on the continent of America the power and principle of freedom will rule, and not the power and principle of slavery [renewed cheers]. I think it just arises from our losing sight of the question at issue that we have treated this American struggle in a manner which has not unnaturally excited ill-feeling in that country, and I think the more we can hear from intelligent Americans who understand our country as well as their own, and who can tell us facts upon this American struggle, the more we shall be able to get to a good understanding of it, and therefore to remove that ill-feeling [hear].

THE FEELING IN AMERICA AGAINST BRITAIN.

I have now, what I scarcely ever had before, the opportunity of speaking to an American, and Mr. Channing must allow me to say a word or two to him, and through him to some of his countrymen. It may be that Englishmen do not quite understand the feeling of the Americans, and I think in America also there is some misconception and misunderstanding of the action of England. There is a feeling in America, if we may judge by the papers and the statements of the leading men, that England has done them a wrong, an actual and positive wrong, which it is their business, almost their duty, to revenge when they have the opportunity. I say that is not the case. I don't mean that there have not been men in England who have taken the side of the South. There have been many, especially in what are called the upper class; but, after all, it is not for the speeches of men, even if they have "hon." or "noble" stuck before their names, that the country must be responsible, nor is it for writing in newspapers that we must be held responsible. Mr. Channing would not like me to make him or his country responsible for the writing of the New York *Herald* [laughter]. I don't compare the New York *Herald* to *The Times* or *The Morning Herald;* but I say the Americans should not make us responsible for anything written in *The Times* or *Morning Herald* [hear]. All we ought to be judged by is the action of the country, and as far as the action of the country is concerned—so far as we have acted in a national capacity—the Americans have little or no reason to find fault, and that is what they ought to bear in mind [hear]. They also ought to remember, when their hearts rankled at any expression made by any of the upper classes of the country, how their cause has been viewed by the great masses of the people [hear]. For every nobleman, for every man who has a title before his name who has taken the side of the South, there have been 10, 20, and even 100 hard-working men who have taken the side of the North and freedom [cheers]. And they have done so with every temptation and every inducement brought to bear upon them to take the other side. They have been told by ingenious men (I will not say sent for the purpose) that their sufferings—and many of them have been suffering deeply—have been caused by this war, and that the war has been caused by the action of the Federals; and yet such have been their instinctive feeling—they know what liberty is—and ill will it be for England when the working-men forget what liberty is—such has been their instinctive feeling, that they have refused to be misled; and I do say it will be ungenerous of America to remember anything against England when we can point to that large meeting of the half-starving working-men of Manchester in the Free Trade Hall [cheers]—when they took the lead in saying, "No matter what the sufferings we may endure, no matter what the sacrifices we may have to undergo, we will not allow our government to depart from the strict principle of neutrality on behalf of the slaveholding Confederacy" [loud applause].

BRITAIN HAS TAKEN NO ACTION AGAINST THE NORTH.

Mr. Channing and his friends must also recollect that although there may have been expressions—talk in favor of the South—there has been no action. There has been talk in the House of Commons in its favor. I have felt, when in advocating a neutral policy I stated what I conceived to be the just claims of the North, I had not got the feeling of the House on my side; but, on the other hand, if any one tried to get the House of Commons to press upon the government to depart from the principles of neutrality, and adopt the side of the South, the common sense of the House was proved to be against him [hear, hear]. I say, therefore, to the Americans, as wise men, you must pay little attention to mere talk or mere writing, you must go by actions, and, judging them, we as a nation have done nothing against you. On the contrary, I say, to the credit of our government—and not merely to the credit of the leaders of the Whig party, but also to the credit of the leaders of the Tory party, and to Lord Derby especially, who in his speech against recognition at the beginning of the session laid down in language which it was impossible could fail to influence his party that any premature recognition would be a breach of international law—it is, thanks to the action of the leaders of both parties, that our government has resisted the notoriously strong pressure on the part of France to depart from strict neutrality and recognize the South [cheers]—and, therefore, instead of complaining of us, the Americans should remember that, as a nation, we have in that matter stood their friends. We have done no more than we ought to have done, but there is no doubt of it that we had our powerful and influential ally pressing us to recognize the South, and our government refused to do it [hear hear]. I am well aware there is one matter in which we may appear to have departed from this neutrality, and that is in the sailing of the Alabama. That again was not the act of the government. I think Earl Russell was caught napping [laughter]—but I know he did not wish her to go out, and has done his utmost to prevent any others following her.

THE QUESTION OF FITTING OUT WAR SHIPS.

I want to say a word or two on this shipping question. Let us forget that we are an anti-slavery meeting, and look at this purely as Englishmen taking a selfish view of it, and looking at it purely as affecting England's interests. I say that as a great maritime nation—the greatest commercial nation in the world—it is to our interest more than to those of any other nation that it should not be international law that ships may sail out of neutral ports to aid in belligerent operations such as the Alabama has engaged in, and which those two steam rams would do if they were not stopped [cheers]. I will just put a case in point. We had a war lately with Russia, and sent out the best fleet we could man, under the best Admiral we could find to Cronstadt. Why did we do so? It was not that we supposed the fleet could batter down that fort. We also knew that in blockading Cronstadt we could not starve the trade of Russia; because it would only be a question of cost, and merchandise would be sent through Prussia by railway. But why we sent the fleet was that we wanted to make our own trade and commerce safe throughout the world, and we said, we will seal up the port of Cronstadt, to prevent the Russian privateers and ships of war going out and destroying our commerce." If we were to allow Alabamas to be the rule of international law for the future, such a course would have been a pure waste of money, because, instead of sending out privateers from Cronstadt, Russia could send them from New York, Philadelphia, Hamburg, Havre, or any other port of the world. If we allow this to become international law, the result will be that whenever we carry on war we shall be obliged to do one of two things—either to blockade every large port of every nation in the world, as well as the ports of the nation with which we are at war, or else to give up our commercial trade and sail our marine under the flags of other nations. There never was a case in which our interest was more clear than it is to have this stopped, and my great anxiety is lest this war should come to an end (which I trust it will do soon) before we have undone any harm which many have been done by our letting the Alabama go out; for, if we do not, depend upon it other countries will take advantage and use our own precedent against us [hear, hear]. I am glad that there is so large a meeting; and I hope you will do your best to strengthen the neutral policy of the government on this question of ships. I do not deny that there are difficulties, which I wish Mr. Channing to remember, and this is the great difficulty, that we have always felt it a point of honor not to alter our laws at the dictation of any foreign country; and although we see that we must make this matter plain for our own interests, it is not an easy thing to do, but it is so evident, that I feel persuaded the common sense of the country will insist upon it. Some people say, "What is the difference between sending out a ship of war and sending out cannon and muskets?" I don't mean to say that we should supply belligerents with muskets; but in this case both sides have got them. But cannon and muskets cannot be used for belligerent purposes until they get into the hands of the belligerents, and whatever quantity of cannon or muskets are supplied, either to the Federals or the Confederates, they are useless until they get on to Federal or Confederate territory. Consequently, the one belligerent government has the chance of stopping, by blockading the ports of the other belligerent, and we may say if material of war enters, it is their fault, from want of power or activity to stop it. But they cannot guard thus against ships, because they never go into the ports, and if a neutral supplies such ships he is taking part in the war, and the only possible way in which the belligerent can stop this is by going to war with the neutral. What we have to aim at, therefore, is to prevent our subjects sending out from our ports armaments which are to be used for belligerent purposes before they go into a belligerent port. That is the problem our law-makers have to solve, and which the common sense and interest of the country will compel them to solve [hear].

AN APPEAL FOR NEUTRALITY IN SPITE OF FRENCH INTRIGUE.

I trust you will strengthen the hands of the government in that matter. Efforts have been made to secure a premature recognition—they have been fruitless, and very much owing to the stand which Lord Derby and others took in the early part of the session. But another effort is making, not so much in England as by our great ally the Emperor. We have hitherto avoided interference against all sorts of temptations; don't let us be dragged into it to serve the purposes of the French Emperor [cheers]. To use homely language, he has got into a mess with his expedition to Mexico [hear]. I am sorry we had anything to do with that Mexican business, but we had the sense to withdraw out very quickly [hear]. He went on with it, believing what was said in many quarters, that the Confederates were sure to succeed. It now appears by no means certain that the Confederates will succeed, and he finds himself with the new Mexican empire on his back, does not know how to bear the load, and wants to shove the burden on the English people. Don't let us take any part of that burden [cheers]. I am no advocate of the Monroe-doctrine, and think they have uttered a great deal of nonsense in America respecting it; but it is no business of ours in any way to support the Emperor in his Mexican conquest, for it is nothing else. As to the declaration of the Mexican people that they desire a change of government, it is only a declaration of a few of the people afraid of the French bayonets [hear]. I see it is stated, though I hope we shall have an explanation from government, that we have something to do with pressing the Archduke Maximilian to put himself in the position of becoming a French pensioned Emperor in Mexico. If an Austrian Archduke has not got that sense of family pride which would prevent his accepting the rule of a people by the help of the great rival of his family, don't let him hereafter be able to say, "You induced me to put myself in this false position." The fact is, that the Emperor of the French knows that when this war is ended he will find it difficult to keep up his power over Mexico, unless he has a Southern Confederacy between himself and the Union; so he starts a new idea for which he wants the French people to go to war. This idea, as it is expressed in a publication I purchased in Paris, and which is supposed to be written partly from his inspiration, is "to counterbalance the Anglo-Saxon race, and give the Latin race their chance upon the continent of America" [laughter]. That may be a fantastic or a reasonable idea, but it is an idea for which we are not going to lose any money or blood to carry it out in Mexico. Therefore I say, if there be, as I believe there are, attempts at this moment by the Emperor of the French to induce us now, even at the last hour, to recognize the South, there never was a clearer case than that our government, which has preserved neutrality until this moment, should not be dragged into it by French intrigue to suit French purposes. [The honorable gentleman sat down amid loud cheers.]

THE REV W. H. CHANNING ON THE AMERICAN WAR.

AT a meeting held on Monday at the Music Hall, Leeds, Mr. Channing spoke as follows:

The Rev. W. H. Channing, on rising was received with loud cheers. He observed that when the echo of their response to the powerful arguments and earnest appeals of the speakers who had addressed them was heard in the United States—and it would be heard [hear, hear]—the question would come, Why is not this response universal throughout Great Britain? This was the wonder of wonders to them in America, and the cause, he believed, was that touched upon by the Chairman—viz., the misunderstanding of this controversy. He was anxious, in all kindness, to free their minds from the fog of prejudice and to show them how they had been misled and bewildered by the sophistries of those who desired to deceive them. In order to illustrate this portion of his argument, he referred to certain statements in *The Index*, the slaveholder's organ in England, in which it was denied that the late J. B. Floyd had done anything to encourage secession or betrayed the Union, and contrasted it with the speeches of the men in the South, who affirmed that the Confederacy could hardly ever repay the debt they owed to him. According to the remarks of the Chairman, considering the cruelties of the North in conducting warlike operations, he asserted that there was no war in history which had been conducted with a greater effort to make it as humane as possible than the war that had been reluctantly forced upon the unwilling people of the North, and that there was a prevalent feeling throughout the people and government of the Northern States to temper its horrors to the utmost, to wipe them away instantly, to gladden the whole South with restored peace and prosperity, to raise up her down-fallen people, and to clasp her to her breast once more, in spite of her cruelties and atrocities, as brethren [applause]. He did not often quote *The Times* [laughter], but in confirmation of his statement he read an extract from the letter of Charles Mackay, the New York correspondent of that journal, in which he admitted that the Northerners had conducted hostilities in the most "chivalrous spirit." Nothing but the sternest truth would have extorted that from Charles Mackay or the London *Times* [applause]. He replied to the allegation that the secession arose from dissatisfaction with the tariff, and showed by the votes given that the South themselves, and not the North, constituted the majority in favor of these tariffs. He had the votes for the tariff of 1857, never changed until after the secession. In the House of Representatives, answering to the House of Commons, the Northern votes in favor of the tariff were 60, against it 65. The Southern vote in favor was 63, or three more than the Northern vote. What was the vote in the Senate, corresponding to the House of Lords in England? The votes in favor given by the North were 14, and by the South in favor 19. The combined votes of the South were 82, and of the North 74. Never again let them hear that it was the tariff which was the cause of secession. The reverend gentleman then replied to another objection—viz.: That their armies were mixed and foreigners. In the army of 26,000 men, 21,000 were native New Englanders and native Westerners [hear, hear]. For every wounded foreigner he had seen in the American army he had seen ten natives. He had asked an Englishman who had been wounded while fighting in the American army why he had joined the service, and he replied: "Why, sir, I came to strike a blow for freedom" [cheers]. There were also in the American army noble-hearted and generous sons of Ireland, and Germans and Frenchman, and their desire was to strike a blow for liberty, and he thought the reason that the sentiment which actuated those brave men was not universal arose from misconception [hear, hear]. The war was the result of a carefully-prepared conspiracy by a slaveholding oligarchy [applause]. The civil war was nothing in its conception, and had been nothing in its career, but a conspiracy by a slaveholding oligarchy to trample under their feet the most glorious republic which humanity had ever seen, on which rested the blessing and hope of Providence [applause]. They wished to break away from the United States in order to establish a vast slave empire, holding the great lines of communication between the Atlantic and the Pacific oceans, which should enable them to dictate terms to the commercial world. They meant to overlap and to convert the free republic into a slave empire [applause]. The argument which they used was this, that inasmuch as the Constitution recognizes the representation of three-fifths of the slaves, therefore the Constitution itself recognized slavery, and the Constitution carried slavery with it wherever it went. Wherever the Constitution spread, there, under its mighty dome, slavery was constitutionally established [hear]. They did not simply assert this, but went on to say that constitutionally-established slavery was the common law of the land. He was not exaggerating, but was merely repeating their own words, and that was not enough, but they claimed the right to protect property in slaves, just as the people of England would protect property in horses or mules [hear, hear]. Finally, they carried the question to the Supreme Court, and there obtained a declaration from a man who was a shame to his position, the Chief Justice of the United States, that the negro had no rights which the white man could not overrule. The consequence of that was that freedom was gone everywhere. They had not one single inch of free territory. The slaveholder had simply to take his slaves into New York, Massachusetts, Maine, and sell them as beasts of burden. They were free men no more, but were all slaves together; and yet the citizens of Great Britain wondered why they did not let them go [applause]. Let who go? [Hear, hear.] Did they mean let freedom go; that they should banish and cast aside as nothing worth those liberties which had been handed down to them? that they should put their necks under the feet of the tyrant of the South, and say, "It is constitutional"? That was out of the question [applause]. The war was a struggle to preserve the life of the nation by preserving the integrity of the nation as a free united republic; for the question was, a universal slave empire or a universal free empire [hear, hear]. The Emancipation proclamation of President Lincoln was an honorable and a proper proceeding. If ever there was a noble and generous offer, it was contained in that proclamation [hear, hear]. All who knew President Lincoln, all who had known him from his boyhood, who had known him as President of the United States, knew that he fully deserved the sobriquet that had been applied to him, "There goes Old Honesty" [hear, hear]. He was a simple-hearted and single-minded man, who zealously wished to be the organ and representative of the popular will, to be the people's sovereign, and nothing else, and when it was demanded from him that he should destroy the property of the rebels he issued his Emancipation proclamation [applause]. That proclamation had been a most effective instrument [hear]. Wherever it had gone, it had at once quickened the hearts of that long-suffering, long-patiently-waiting race, who had believed in the power of the republic to break their chains [applause]. He gladly bore testimony to the noble qualities exhibited by the emancipated slaves. Never did he believe in the possibility of the combination of so much intelligence and simple-hearted goodness as he had found in that long-prostrated people [hear, hear]. In the valley of the Mississippi seventy plantations were being worked by free negroes, in the production of cotton and sugar, and in place of the liberated slaves being an indolent and dependent race, they were everywhere active and energetic, and ready to take their place among civilized men [applause]. Those slaves who had become free and had joined the army were conspicuous for their heroism, as if they were anxious, even by the sacrifice of their own lives, to secure the freedom which was being purchased for them [applause]. If he had time, he could trace the results of the policy of the Federal government, but he would merely say that the war was gradually tending towards a successful close [hear, hear]. He wished to express that feeling temperately, for if he told them all he thought and felt on the matter, they would say he was rather wild and enthusiastic. He had by him facts which went to show what had been the immense gains of the Union army, and he thought those facts ought to satisfy any man that the war could not end but in one way, and that was in the complete success of the Union army [hear, hear]. The Confederates claimed at first 1,200,000 square miles, that was soon reduced to 887,000 square miles, and now it was reduced to 335,000. The Confederates originally claimed 12½ million of people under the sway of oligarchic rule, and that number was now reduced to little more than five million, and of that number nearly one-half were slaves [applause]. If they could look at the territory which had been reclaimed, they would see that the Confederacy was now reduced merely to a portion of Virginia, just the corner touching upon Tennessee, embracing North Carolina, which was actually trembling in the balance at that moment, resisting the conscription and longing to return; the island of Georgia and Alabama were entirely with the North. Mississippi and Charleston were practically recovered and Mobile taken, and it seemed to him, with all their courage and indomitable resolution—which he granted as earnestly and as readily as any friend of the secession—in spite of all that, the South must see that their cause was gone, and that it was entirely useless any more to struggle [cheers]. It was said that, nevertheless, it was possible to make a boundary line, where would they make it? [Hear, hear.] It was not a question of State lines at all [hear, hear]—it was a question simply of highlands and lowlands; a question of the planting interest against the farming interest. It would be easy to prove that secession had been entirely in proportion to the prevalence of slavery, and that being so, how could they draw a boundary line? [Hear, hear.] They might think him a rash prophet—but peace was spreading over the continent of America, and on that bow of promise sat a glorified angel of God—universal liberty [cheers]

SIR EDWARD BULWER LYTTON ON ENGLAND'S POSITION.

CHANCES OF CANADA COMING INTO THE UNION—WHERE THE NEXT GREAT NAVAL BATTLES MAY BE FOUGHT.

SIR E. B. LYTTON presided at the dinner of the Herts Agricultural Association, on Thursday evening, September 24.

In proposing the toast of the evening the Right Hon. Baronet, after some remarks on the improvements which are taking place in our whole agricultural system, spoke as follows:

When I addressed you in this room, about two years ago, I dwelt perhaps at some length upon those remarkable events which had rendered the age in which we live memorable for startling and sudden changes. During the two years that have elapsed since that time Europe has continued to exhibit the same political elements of change and disorder. While in America a civil war *unprecendented for the merciless waste af treasure and of kindred blood* continues animated by passions which appear to us at a distance so void of reason, at this moment the newspapers of the Northern States of America are actually inviting Canada to exchange the disorders and oppressions of British dominion for the mild blessings of American peace and brotherhood (hear, hear, and laughter). One might have supposed that even the vainest American would have thought that this was not the most favorable moment to persuade Canada to desert the old Union Jack for the American flag of the Stars and Stripes, *just at the moment when that flag is so torn in two that the stars are gone and the stripes remain* (hear, and laughter). Now, whilst the Old World is thus disturbed, and the New World is thus convulsed, it seems too commonplace to say that England must remain upon her guard. Not that I am one of those alarmists who suppose that these shores are always on the point of being invaded, and certainly I am not disposed to render this as expensive as war by costly preparations for imaginary dangers. But still I consider that there is no duty more obvious to a British statesman than the vigilant maintenance of the British navy, for if even a fight for England as a first rate power is to be decided by force of arms, *the battle is more likely to be fought in the midst of the Mediterranean or the Atlantic Ocean* than in the Straits of the British Channel (hear, hear). It is not from any boast of national vanity that I say how much the great interests of universal civilization and the noble cause of national freedom are bound up with the material prosperity and the moral power of England; for it is not the least remarkable feature of those changes to which I have adverted that they all take England as their model and example in the institutions which they seek to establish (hear, hear). You recognize in the material prosperity of England the advantages of her political system; and you revere it in the moral power of England, as the advocate of humanity and freedom (hear, hear). You will observe that while in all foreign countries they have gone in one direction against forms of government based on absolute despotism, they equally discourage systems that are based on unmitigated democracy; and perhaps the close of the century will be chiefly remarkable to historians by the establishment throughout the whole of the civilized world of constitutional monarchies more or less imitative of this old monarchy of ours (hear, hear).

WILLIAM A. JACKSON.

[Resolution of the Executive of the Union and Emancipation Society. Moved by Mr. Thos. H. Barker; seconded by Mr. J. C. Edwards.]

THE Executive of the Union and Emancipation Society, in parting with Mr. William Andrew Jackson on his return to the United States, hereby record their high sense of the value of the platform services he has ably and faithfully rendered to the cause of freedom in relation to the present conflict in America.

The Committee have also great pleasure in being able to testify to Mr. Jackson's consistent and honor able conduct during the term of his engagement as one of their public advocates.

The Committee cannot part with their friend, Mr. Jackson, without expressing affectionate solicitude for his future welfare and usefulness, and they earnestly commend him to the kindly recognition of the friends of Union and Emancipation in America.

For THOS. BAYLEY POTTER, President,
(Signed) FRANCIS TAYLOR.

(Signed) JOHN HART ESTCOMB, } Chairman of the Executive.

Offices of the Union and Emancipation Society, 51 Piccadilly, Manchester, September 21, 1863.

At a meeting held in Mount Tabor Chapel, in Sheffield, in the County of York, England, on the 18th day of September, 1863, the Rev. John Guttridge in the chair, it was unanimously

Resolved, That this meeting, in taking leave of their friend, Mr. William Andrew Jackson, on his return to America, request him to assure the people of that country of our sympathy with them in the great struggle in which they are now engaged, and our sincere hope that success may attend their efforts to rid their country of the horrid and abominable system of chattel slavery, and we earnestly pray that God, in his infinite mercy, will bless and protect Mr. Jackson, and give him strength to carry on the work in which he is engaged.

(Signed) JOHN GUTTRIDGE, Chairman.

THE WITHDRAWAL OF MR. MASON.

MR. MASON'S LETTER TO EARL RUSSELL.

The Index, the London organ of the secessionists, publishes the text of the letter in which Mr. Mason announces the termination of the Confederate mission to England:

No. 24 UPPER SEYMOUR STREET, PORTMAN SQUARE, LONDON, Sept. 21, 1863.

Right Hon. Earl Russell, Her Majesty's Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs:

MY LORD: In a dispatch from the Secretary of State of the Confederate States of America, dated the 4th day of August last, and now just received, I am instructed to consider the mission which brought me to England as at an end, and I am directed to withdraw at once from this country.

The reasons for terminating this mission are set forth in an extract from the dispatch which I have the honor to communicate herewith.

The President believes that "the government of Her Majesty has determined to decline the overtures made through you for establishing, by treaty, friendly relations between the two governments, and entertains no intention of receiving you as the accredited Minister of this government near the British Court. Under these circumstances, your continued residence in London is neither conducive to the interests nor consistent with the dignity of this government, and the President therefore requests that you consider your mission at an end, and that you withdraw with your Secretary from London."

Having made known to your Lordship on my arrival here the character and purpose of the mission entrusted to me by my government, I have deemed it due to courtesy thus to make known to the government of Her Majesty its termination, and that I shall, as directed, at once withdraw from England. I have the honor to be

Your Lordship's very obedient servant,
(Signed,) J. M. MASON.

COMMENTS OF THE REBEL ORGANS.

On this *The Index* makes the following comments (supposed to be "inspired"), setting forth several reasons for the withdrawal, which are not embodied in Mr. Mason's letter:

Mr. Slidell, we understand, will remain in France as Special Commissioner to that government. Nor is it at all contemplated to termin

and Mr. McGee, at Mobile, were recalled by this government; and Mr. Moore, at Richmond, was dismissed by the Confederate government for contumacy.

It remains to be known hereafter what advantages France may derive from a course of policy more consistent with her own self-respect and with national decorum.

The London *Globe* ridicules this kind of argument, and says there is no courtesy or discourtesy in the matter—it is all policy. For reasons which he alone knows, the Emperor of the French confers with Mr. Slidell; for reasons which we all know, Earl Russell has not conferred with Mr. Mason.

SPEECH OF HENRY WINTER DAVIS,

At Cooper Institute, New York, October 9, 1863.

IF the negroes of Georgia form a government must Congress recognize them? or must it recognize a government of rich slaveholders or of the lower class of whites? The Constitution says Congress shall guarantee a republican form of government, and it is the duty of Congress to be certain in its own mind that it is not recognizing a government of the black over the white, or of the whites oppressively over the blacks (great cheers). If a despotism of this kind is formed, Congress has a right to say, and it is its bounden duty to say, that it recognizes no form of government which has for its basis the institution of human slavery (tremendous cheering). Not "is the Constitution as it is" (laughter), as waked into life and power by Gov. Seymour's *friends* (laughter and cheering). When under proper auspices the people of any State shall form a government, and Congress shall approve the work, then a Republican government will be formed and they will be entitled to relief from military rule, and not till then (cheers). We have had enough of this false doctrine of State rights, to deceive and delude the people. State rights are nothing but national wrongs (cheers). The State has not a right to say what the Federal government shall do, and attempt to control its action. This intense jealousy of the National government and preference for State rights is at the foundation of the rebellion. It was fostered and spread among the people at the South by traitors. It is the people of the United States who govern; and the people of the United States are as wise as the people of New York (laughter), and the President of the United States is as honest as the Governor of New York (laughter, and then groans for Seymour), and only a few weeks ago it was proved that the United States were quite as strong as the people of New York (laughter and cheers). The wretched and dilapidated thing that the government was when James Buchanan let it drop from his old woman's hands (laughter) has awaked to power and strength, and those who feared it was dead have seen it arise, shake off its grave-clothes, and come back to us with as much power and vigor as it ever had. Who is most likely to invade personal liberty—those who wish to withdraw themselves from the National government and laws, or those who are trying to support them? Your States are very good in their place, but very bad out of their place, and if they came out of their place against the government, they must be put back in their places by force if necessary. And that rule applies to the North as well as to the South, whether it is applied to weak Delaware or strong New York (great applause). Who is it that Gov. Seymour is going to protect the people of the United States against? Will he call out the militia of New York against the army of the Potomac? (Laughter.) The Constitution knows and recognizes only citizens of the United States, and by reason of that they are citizens of New York (applause). And when sympathizers with rebels presume to be specially careful of the rights of a citizen of New York, rest assured that citizen is an enemy of the United States government, and they want to use him. It would seem these people had never read the laws—the Governor of a State protecting the people of the United States (laughter). By the law, Judges of State Courts have no right to interfere when a man is arrested by the United States Courts, and if a citizen of the United States is arrested by the United States he has a right to go before the United States Court; and he didn't know that Judge Nelson was any less just than some judge elected at a ward meeting, even when "Pahdee" governs here (laughter). Our fathers organized the Courts to do that which Gov. Seymour seems to think he was specially raised to do (laughter), though he seems to think it was framed to play second fiddle militia (cheers and laughter). We did not talk about the *power* of government till the government was forced to put a million of men into the field. Now that power is a *fact*, and if not obeyed it will make itself obeyed. Now what is to be done when government comes to perform the guarantees of the Constitution? Reinstate the Union as it was for the pleasure of Gov. Seymour and his friends? Not with his consent! The only road to peace was by striking the sword from the hand of the rebels (cheers). He wanted no peace over the putrid sore of rebellion—it must be crushed, and governments formed in the States at the South on the same basis as the States of the North. Maryland was not in rebellion, but she would wipe out slavery from her soil in less than a year (tremendous applause and three cheers for "My Marvland"). It depends on the congressmen of the North, and if they will do their duty America will be a free country from Maine to Florida in less than two years (very loud cheering). Though he believed the President's Proclamation to be proper and politic, he did not think its practical results would be great. Slavery has existed for 70 years in the District of Columbia and it did not go out when a Republican government came in, but they made a law and put it out. If we send men of the right stamp to Congress who will see their duty and do it, we shall accomplish one great result. We must have a law of Congress that will open the courts to the emancipated negro, and prescribe a process by which he can maintain himself against overpowering State authority or the claims of his master, and against what the States reorganized might declare to be State law. It will do no good to declare freedom and leave the negro helpless, disarmed, and at the mercy of those who wield political power over him. There will never be consolidated liberty at the South until the President has not only proclaimed freedom, but has also taught the negroes how to use arms and organized them (great cheering). That process has already begun, though in his judgment it had begun a year too late, yet it has begun; and now let the public opinion come forward to support the President, and not only support him, but urge him on (great applause). And let every one who lifts a tongue to prejudice the people against the negro soldier be marked as a sympathizer with treason bent upon weakening the arm of the government (cheers). Let those who think the negro not good enough to serve by the side of a white man remember that he served in the ranks of Gen. Washington and Gen. Jackson, if they think the negro is inferior to them in the field of battle let them test that by seeing who gets nearest the enemy's batteries, and then if they will say that those are not entitled to freedom who fight for it like white men, then let them come and argue the question before you (cheers). The only guarantee to the negro is that at the end of the war there will be large masses of them in arms, and then it will be more difficult to reduce them to slavery than to let them remain free (great applause). But what are you going to do with the negroes? "Run them up North to compete with you in labor;" "Colonize them." It has been said by one high in official place, "Exhort them to come out and fight for the country," and when they have helped free the land you will say, I suppose, but they shall have none of it. After they have shed their blood to save the country, then when it is safe, they must go out of it! I suppose, then, after the contest is ended, and the negroes have helped to gain the victory, we shall say to the white soldiers, "Enter thou into the joy of the Lord," and to the black soldiers, "Go down and dig canals for the United States, until we can get ships enough to send you abroad" (great laughter and applause). It is frivolous and ungenerous and humiliating, and what even the cotton lords will not appreciate—it will desolate their cotton fields. They want the negro as a slave, if they can have him, but they want him any way. They cannot get along without him. The negro is at the South with us, and cannot be got rid of. And is it not better to allow them to fight our battles, and allow them to remain as a peaceable necessity which the South cannot get along without? No nation ever yet expelled another nation from its borders in such numbers as the negroes now are in this country. It this nation should be guilty of such a crime, history will record the foolishness and iniquity of sending out four millions of laborers from a country that depends upon its agriculture for its existence. They had the question before them in Maryland, and the calm judgment of the State had decided that the negroes must not be driven out. Many of the secessionists of Maryland to-day were treating the question in a practical way, and they had actually made bargains with their slaves at so much a day not to run away (great laughter). Something of this kind must be done or the negro will roam abroad as a vagabond, and his master will be a vagabond too (cheers and laughter). When the President issued his Proclamation, justifiable by the condition of foreign affairs, it was said we should have negro insurrection and massacres of their master's families.

But where has been these scenes? The prophesy sprang from the wish of the prophet. They wanted to curse Israel and they did, but the prophesy coming from below proved false (cheers). There was a great cry about the Radical Abolitionists, and this small fragment had been used to blacken and smut the whole North, and this deception had done much to cause the war. Now, when we are at a crisis of our fate, those who would be willing to destroy the government for the sake of their friends at the South, begin again to raise this cry to delude the people. Ill omened owls, who cannot get the old ideas, like cobwebs, out of their heads, begin to talk about the negro; to attempt to revive the old prejudice, which the enemies of the republic alone use for mischief and which no man can ever rise for good ("bravo, bravo"). I say, gentlemen of the United States, that as little as I have been an Abolitionist heretofore, and as little regard as I have for their common sense in great national affairs, and as little as I think they were ever calculated to do good—yet I say that the man who utters a word for the purpose of awakening a prejudice against any man who is on the side of the government in this struggle is a traitor at heart, or else so low as to be utterly unworthy of notice (loud cheers). All the old arguments of Roger B. Taney and those who would preserve slavery are brought forward at this day by men in high position. Why not be reasonable, if negroes are not men, we can't make them so, and if they are men, we can't help it; and if they are not our equals we can't make them so, and if they are our equals we can't help it. These questions generally settle themselves by the laws of nature and of God (cheers). Those men who seek to revive these old prejudices are only seeking mischief. Let this question alone, and let the future show it; the Lord knows we have got enough in this day to attend to our own business (applause and laughter). He hoped that the next Congress would address itself to the real interests of the country, and realize that peace must be sought across battle-fields and over a crushed rebellion; and so that in the future the Union shall not be as it was in those things in which it ought to be changed.

With three rousing cheers for Henry Winter Davis the meeting then adjourned.

DE SHIBBERLY OB DE SOUF.

MASSA HASKIL—*Sar:* Dis ere poetical diffusion is from de pen of Massa Watts, de gubner of Allybamy. De rime and de reson is left out, but for works of frichsun dar is noboddy dat hole a candle to Massa Watts, in awl de Souf. He hate ebberything dat is pury tanish, speshly common sense.

"He who is now, deliberately or otherwise, in favor of 'reconstruction' with the States under Lincoln's dominion, is a traitor in his heart to the State of his residence and to the Confederate States, and deserves a traitor's doom. If I had the power, I would build up a wall of fire between Yankeedom and the Confederate States, there to burn for ages, as a monument of the folly, wickedness, and vandalism of the Puritanic race! No, sir! rather than reunite with such a people, I would see the Confederate States desolated with fire and sword. When the men of the South shall become such base cowards as to wish for such reunion, let us call on the women of the South to march to the battle-field, and, in the name of the God of justice, bid them fight under the banner of Southern liberty! The call would not be made in vain. Let the patriot sires, whose children have bared their breasts to Yankee bullets and welcomed glorious deaths in this struggle for self-government, rebuke the foul spirit which even whispers 'reconstruction.' Let the noble mothers, whose sons have made sacred with their blood so many fields consecrated to freedom, rebuke the fell heresy! Let our blood-stained banners, now unfurled 'to the battle and the breeze,' rebuke the cowardice and cupidity which suggest 'reconstruction?' The spirits of our heroic dead—the martyrs to our sacred cause, rebuke—a thousand times rebuke 'reconstruction!' We have little cause for despondency—none for despair!' Let us now nerve ourselves afresh for the contest; and let us not forget that

> 'Freedom's battle, once begun,
> Bequeathed from bleeding sire to son,
> Though baffled oft, is ever won!'

"If we are true to ourselves; true to the memories of the past; true to our homes and our firesides, and true to our God, we *cannot*, we *will* not be conquered! In any and in every event, let us prefer death to a life of cowardly shame!"

Dis ere vane ob poetry dat seem to run throo Mass Watts, like dyaree, has cum down, dey sa, all de wa from his grate ansister, de Eyesuk Watts, de orthur ob de grate ippic pome, dat begin—"Let dogs delight."

I gess you nebber see de gubner's imytashun of de Eyesuk's grate wurk. I send yoo de only koppy I got—don loose him for de worl:

> Let bloodhounds fight, and bark and bite,
> For God hath made them so;
> And catch our niggers, in their flight,
> For we have trained them to.
>
> Our Southern hands were never made
> For labor, but to thwuck
> Our niggers, and to lay the braid
> On Sambo's naked back.
>
> The horrid stench, we don't deny,
> Of niggers we detest;
> And yet, though some of them we buy,
> Ourselves beget the best.
>
> Whiter and whiter still they grow.
> Our very flesh and bone;
> And thus we whitewash o'er, you know,
> That famous CORNER-STONE.
>
> The mighty Midas, it is said,
> Turned all he touched to gold;
> And thus the fathers are repaid,
> When all they *get* is sold.
>
> 'Tis true, we trade our goods away,
> The Yankee peddlers theirs;
> We peddle our own babies, they
> Their stock of wooden wares.
>
> When traders come to buy the brat,
> And Dinah makes a pother,
> We tell her not to cry for that,
> And promise her another.
>
> We have no puritanic qualms,
> About promiscuous breeding;
> But thrash them well for singing psalms,
> Or when we catch 'em reading.
>
> Of marriage and the filial tie
> What can these niggers know?
> The Puritan and mudsill lie,
> And say it is not so.
>
> We have no scruples, no, not we—
> We only count the shivers,
> And sever all the ties there be
> Twixt Hannibals and Dinahs.
>
> Then who, these Puritans beside,
> Can look us in the face,
> And no', at once, the point decide,
> That we're the MASTER RACE!

Dar—if dar is anyting in de wurks ob de Eyesuk Watts, to beet dese ere lines ob de gubner, I don no whar he is. CYPPYO AFFRIKANUS.

—*Boston Transcript.*

DEATH OF GEORGE SUMNER.

WE learn with deep regret that George Sumner, the brother of Senator Sumner, died yesterday afternoon, after a long and distressing illness. The event has been expected for over a month, yet its announcement will none the less afflict many hearts as with a shock of surprise. More than a year ago, when Mr. Sumner was originally attacked by the disease which ended in paralysis, it was felt that he could never recover; day by day and month by month he palpably grew worse; yet such was the freshness and vitality of his intellect, so keen was his interest in all passing events, and so vivid was his memory of the scenes and persons that extensive travel had impressed on his mind, that it seemed impossible to associate death with such evident richness and abundance of life. To the last he preserved the beautiful courtesy of his manner, the amiability of his disposition, the brightness and clearness of his mind.

Mr. Sumner was one of the most accomplished men of the time. He was not only familiar with many languages and many literatures, but in the course of a long residence abroad had explored almost every part of Europe, and made the acquaintance of the most prominent European statesmen, publicists, and men of letters. The information he had derived from books was but a small part of the treasures of knowledge which his observing eye and retentive memory had stored up in his mind. He knew things from personal examination, and men from personal intercourse; and it was hardly possible to touch in conversation on any subject connected with the manners, customs, localities, scenery, or public men of European countries, that his personal recollections and experience did not throw light on the subject, however remote it might be from ordinary lines of study.

With his native country, Mr. Sumner was none the less extensively acquainted. He had travelled in every part of it, knew its most prominent statesmen, authors, artists, and philanthropists, was familiar with its social life, and had a most intense sympathy with its ideas and institutions. A philosophical and cosmopolitan Democrat, he was the friend of every cause at home or abroad which had the good of the people for its object; and while in Europe was known everywhere as a stout friend of Republican institutions, ready in every society where America was assailed to take upon himself its defense. In the many admirable lectures which he delivered before our lyceums, from Maine to Missouri, he showed in his discussion of European politics how thoroughly his knowledge of the governments of other countries had impressed him with the excellence of our own.

Not the least of Mr. Sumner's claims to consideration was the number of warmly attached friends whom he attracted, not more by his talents and accomplishments than by the kindness of his heart, the cordiality of his manners, his interest in all that interested those he loved, and the singular sweetness of his disposition. By them he is sure to be long remembered and long regretted, as one of the most amiable as well as one of the most accomplished of the persons they have been privileged to love and esteem.

A SLAVEHOLDER'S TESTIMONY.

WE have received from Nashville the following copy of a letter from one shaveholder to another. Both are persons well known in the State where they live. The writer was opposed to negro enlistments. He now advocates them.

"G——, Tenn., September 25, 1863.

"DEAR SIR: I take the liberty of giving you, in my rough way, a sketch of the doings at G—— to night; it is one of the results of the rebellion. [Then follows a report of a speech made at a recruiting meeting for colored troops by H. J. Maxwell, a free colored man from Ohio. After which he writes:]

"I need not try to do this nigger justice. It is enough for me to say that he spoke about forty minutes with ease to himself and audience; and his speeches are too strong for our darkeys, they will all go into the army and no mistake. Capt. Morris then made an ingenious speech of about twenty-five minutes, which was well timed, called all to their feet who were in favor of Union and liberty. While on their feet he called all who wanted to enlist to come round the altar. As they started the music chimed in with a universal shout from both men, women, and children in the house. For a more correct description, I refer you to one of the most stirring revivals you ever attended. At the close of the meeting Capt. Aicklan of the battery was called out; he claimed to be a Democrat—but raised no question with the administration upon points of policy—that the rebellion must and should be suppressed, and that there was no time to be squabbling about how it should be done. There were twenty-six added to the list of recruits. The meeting closed by giving three cheers to the first Gallatin company. I claim to be a fair judge of a crowd and the effect of any move upon them, whether black or white, and am fully of the opinion that such meetings and speeches as this will take all the negroes out of the country, with the fewest exceptions, in a short time. There are now forty-eight in the company and wherever these meetings are held they will rally, for men, women, and children greedily take hold of it. I will trouble you no further.

National Anti-Slavery Standard,

WITHOUT CONCEALMENT—WITHOUT COMPROMISE.

NEW YORK, SATURDAY, OCTOBER 17, 1863.

THE PENNSYLVANIA STATE MEETING.—The twenty-sixth annual meeting of the Pennsylvania Anti-Slavery Society will be held this year in Philadelphia; and not in October, as usual, but in December, immediately on the rising of the Third Decade meeting of the American Anti-Slavery Society, which is to convene in that city on the 3rd and 4th of that month.

TEACHINGS OF ENEMIES.

THERE is not a much safer guide in conduct than the knowledge of what your enemies do not wish you to do. It is not only lawful to learn of them, but to take direction of them—by going exactly the other way. The genuine friends of the true progress and substantial greatness of the nation have all the advices necessary for their guidance through the knowledge of what its pretended friends and its open enemies hate and denounce. The rebels are not sparing of these indications, nor yet their open colaborers, the Copperheads, nor yet again such sort of loyalists as the Blairs of Missouri. By observing what they most hated, we were confirmed in every movement that has been a forward one, if it were not actually suggested by that association of contrast. In the very beginning, they protested against the invasion of the soil of independent States. Nothing could be more conclusive of the absolute necessity of exactly that measure. They objected to the confiscation of rebel estates, and especially of rebel slaves. It was at once obvious that these were the very things most needful to do. They exclaimed against any general declaration of emancipation in the rebel States. It was, of course, demonstrable that that was the measure of measures, for the effectual suppression of the rebellion. They ridiculed and denounced the employment of black troops, and the unavoidable nature of that resort at once became palpable to all honest eyes. And now they are busy in trying to show that it is the height of impropriety, not to say of treason, to consider what treatment is to be extended to the rebel States whenever their resistance has been overcome. Or, rather, they are loud in their assertions that no other opinions are legal, safe, or tolerable excepting such as are agreeable to themselves, and will be acceptable to the rebels. And for this purpose they misrepresent the terms of the President's proclamation, endeavor to pervert its plain purport, and have the impudence to pretend, or to imply, that they speak for him.

Now we hold that there can not be a plainer indication of the topic which should mainly occupy men's minds just now, and the view which they should take of it, than their factious opposition. Happily, the invasion of the "sacred soil" is made, the property of rebels in the country occupied by our armies confiscated, and their slaves freed, the proclamation of emancipation has been issued, and the black troops are in arms by thousands in our uniform and under our colors. All these things are accomplished facts. Nothing remains for their enemies but to make these measures as ineffectual as possible for the ultimate result of general emancipation. The interests of slavery thus rudely attacked—though certainly reluctantly and slowly—the best that can be done for its comfort and prolongation is to provide for leaving the final settlement of that matter in the hands of the slavedrivers themselves. Thus the right of Congress to treat the rebel States as Territories, and to reërect them into States only at its pleasure and under such conditions as it should see fit to prescribe, is denied, and even the plain meaning of the President's proclamation is distorted. He did not intend, it seems, that all the slaves in those States were freed, but only such as were actually reached by our forces; and should any slave State become tired of the war and wish to come back into the family of States again, there was nothing to hinder her from doing so, and keeping hold of all and singular the slaves she had, excepting such as had actually come under the protection of our armies! As soon as she was ready, she could send Senators and Representatives to Congress, and vote for President, and whenever enough were found so inclined as to command a majority, with the help of these, their well-wishers, the whole work could be undone, and the old state of things restored, emancipated slaves reënslaved, confiscated estates given back, and the good old times brought back again, as nearly as might be. These golden dreams having been foreshadowed, if not fully announced, it becomes every one who does not accept them as prophetic of the political millennium to try and counteract their effect by hard facts and positive action. We may remember, for our encouragement, that every step that the nation has made towards its deliverance has been over as many obstacles and annoyances as could be piled up in its way.

Our inference from all this is, that the one thing about which we ought to think and speak about just now is the way in which the rebel States are to be treated after they shall have had enough of war and be content to have peace. We are to provide for this precise case. We are to take it for granted, as we think the American people have done, that we are to prevail in this war, and to stumble along to victory, in spite of blunders, in the end, because we are in the right, and also the stronger of the two. When this is done, sooner or later, we shall have to decide whether the rebels shall come back on their terms or on ours. Whether they are to be stronger and more insolent than ever before, through the help of the Seymours, Woods, and Pierces, or whether they are to come back only on terms which shall give them no more than their proper weight in our affairs. With slavery, even as much damaged as Mr. Greeley or Mr. Dana would deem inevitable—by the freedom of all slaves actually received into protection—it would still be omnipotent in the slave States, and thus plenipotent in the nation. The slaveholders would retain their despotic hold upon the people of their States, and thus the balance of power in Congress. It is true that it is not very probable that they will be willing to come back before slavery has been effectually destroyed by the actual force of arms and presence of armies. But as the supposition on which all the speculations in their behalf rests is that they will, the inferences drawn from it are to be combatted on the same ground. And in the light of the long experience we have had of the cunning, as well as the wickedness of slavery, it is not safe to affirm that anything is impossible to it.

There is a great deal said about the impossibility of a State committing suicide. Perhaps it may be so; but there is no impossibility in doing execution upon it. History has plenty of examples of that kind. If it be unlawful to punish a State which has, as a State, rebelled against the nation, then the present war is unlawful, as the secessionists and the Copperheads affirm it to be. If we may shoot its citizens, lay waste its country, bombard its capitals, blockade its ports, we may surely do what is the natural consequence of the successful doing of these things. We surely do not take all this trouble, and go to all this expense of blood and treasure, merely to strengthen our enemies' hands, and leave them in at least as good a condition as they were before they rebelled. If we have a right to live as a nation, as well as a name, we have the right to say what shall be the condition of the rebels, individually and collectively, after they are reduced, and on what terms they shall be forgiven and restored to political rights' otherwise, we are engaged in playing a most bloody and tragical farce, from which we cannot cease too soon. But now is the time to establish a precedent for all time to come. To settle the principle that a State which rebels or withdraws, looses its sovereign capacity, and sinks back into the condition of a province or territory, to be rehabilitated in its sovereignty only on good behavior and at the pleasure of the nation. If this be accomplished, the war will not have been fought in vain. If the wishes of such men as the Blairs should prevail in our councils, all the expenditure of wealth and life will have been thrown away. Any settlement that shall leave slavery anywhere alive will be a botched and bungled one. It will be only an adjournment of the rebellion and a hollow cessation of arms. We believe that the nation, and the army especially, are coming gradually to the conclusion that there can be no nation worth living in or living for, excepting one without a Slave or a Master within its limits. The work now to be done is to strengthen and deepen this determination, and to procure its due recording by Congress. That done, and the policy fixed—that there can be no peace without universal freedom—the one cause of discord will have been destroyed, and after a very few years the wounds of this civil war will have healed, and the nation be greater and more glorious than she ever dreamed of being.

NO REPUBLIC, NO STATE.

WHATEVER name may be proper for the mixed government set up by our fathers, there is no doubt that the people of that day believed they were assisting at the birth of a republic, and that their descendants have lived and died in the same faith. Little matters it that both generations had confused ideas of the democratic principle, so that they could not see what putting of new cloth into old garments the Union was. The North, as far as it could, adjusted its practice to the national theory, which it has triumphantly vindicated by its unexampled freedom, prosperity and progress. The South, on her part, was willing that the name of a republic should stand, while the fact of a slave-aristocracy or oligarchy was not resisted, even if disputed. It was advantageous, on the whole, that this cloak should be spread before the eyes of citizens and foreigners, for the better concealment of the designs of slavery, and the longest possible avoidance of opposition to its encroachments. Power being the ambition of the handful of slaveholders, they did not care under what form it was exerted; nay, thanks to the republican leaver, the Union had undergone so vast an expansion, had exhibited such capacity for further growth and strength, whilst he power remained with the South there could be no desire, no hope even, of a broader field for its exercise. But the spell was broken when the Abolitionists revealed the hollowness of the Union, and assailed by unmasking the tyranny which swayed the Capitol. Slavery meanwhile gained more victories, but each one more laboriously than the last. The South cast off the forms of democracy when Abraham Lincoln was elected President; and as he took his rightful seat at the head of the nation—mouthpiece of those whose warning cry to slaveholding aggrandizement was, thus far, and no farther!—she rolled back sullenly from the new Canute, and gathering all the forces of her mighty flood, swept on again to overwhelm the government she could not possess.

Thus was the issue made up by the acts of secession and revolt. Should the Republic stand or fall? The men of the North, in the name of freedom, took arms to preserve it against the assaults of slavery. From that instant democracy first began to exist in America. From that instant the Constitution became purged of its compromises with a system which had betrayed both, and every letter that remained breathed only the spirit of the Declaration of Independence. It was settled that within the limits of the United States there should arise neither oligarchy nor monarchy, but that the government of the whole should continue, and the choice of the majority, lawfully expressed, prevail. The war goes on. States and parts of States which have been in rebellion are already recovered to our domain; by-and by, we are resolved, the whole shall be. How shall we manage with them? In what condition shall they return to the community of States? Let the *new* Constitution answer, by a clause hitherto neglected, or employed only in the defence of slavery, henceforth to be wielded in the interest of freedom:

"The United States shall guarantee to every State in this Union a Republican form of government, and shall protect each of them against invasion, and on application of the legislature, or the executive (when the legislature cannot be convened) against domestic violence."

It was this clause (art. 4, sec. 4.) upon which Theodore Parker based his conviction of the constitutional right possessed by Congress to abolish slavery, though only by a stretch of interpretation which did not regard the intention of the framers of the instrument. For they hedged slavery about with priviliges and protections which had all been worthless if Mr. Parker's construction were admissible.

The clause itself in question is self-destructive, for by virtue of it the United States were bound to suppress slave-insurrections. But this is only a single instance of the shocking contradictions in the national charter, which men fondly hoped would keep at peace with each other. To-day we lift the Constitution from its stultifications, and in earnest determine to "form a more perfect Union, establish justice, insure domestic tranquillity, ... promote the general welfare, and secure the blessings of liberty to ourselves and our posterity." To-day we do not pass unchallenged each body politic that wears the garb of a republic. We examine its essence; and either forbid it to exist, or reduce it to first principles. So in our dealings with the Slave States. In the day of reconstruction we shall test the constitutions alike of those which seceded and those which remained, demanding the extinction of every provision in conflict with the aim of the supreme law of the land, which, as we have seen, is the maintenance of a republican form of government.

But what do we mean by this phrase, a republican form of goverfment? The Postmaster General in his latest speech defines it "a government adopted by the people; for it is the essence of republican government that it shall emanate from the people of the State." The definition is too broad; squatter sovereignty could take refuge under it. That is not a republic where a majority or even the totality of the people consent to the rule of one man. No more is that a republic which tolerates a privileged class, or which is dominated by the spirit of caste. In short, any State in which a single member is deprived of rights which attach to him from his humanity, is not a republic and cannot claim the name. By what means, or on what pretence, then, are the slave States to be allowed to return or to remain as such in the *new* Union? The old order of things has passed away—the covenant with death is annulled. Hereafter the nation means to be wholly republican and wholly free. South Carolina presents herself for reception; we scan her blood-stained statute-book, and fling it into the ocean. "Go home and build a Republic, even though you must need remodel society from its foundation! We do not recognize as States associations of pirates." Thus we answer Virginia, Kentucky and the rest. Nor do we content ourselves with this. Not only must every constitution and system of laws antagonistic to the republican principle be abrogated; not only must every new charter and new code conform to that principle; but the nation will see to it that the order of society is democratic, even before the local forms and instruments are decided upon. The freedman is to be protected in his rights as an American citizen, and as a citizen of the territory in which he resides, however long be the terms preceding the erection of a new constitution, and the restoration of the State to its former position.

While thus fulfilling the injunction to "guarantee to every State in this Union a republican form of government, we shall also execute the remainder of the clause; for we shall protect the regenerated States from the "invasion" of John Brown and his imitators, by withdrawing all temptation to such a course, and in like manner from the "domestic violence" of those who lately, as the victims of a horrible oppression, desired the overthrow, but now, as equal fellow-citizens, will earnestly seek the preservation of the States which they inhabit. N.

ELECTION IN OHIO.—Our returns from the Election yesterday in this State, as received up to 2 o'clock this morning (Tuesday), are necessarily fragmentary and scattering, but their drift is all one way, and they unmistakably indicate an overwhelming Union triumph. John Brough is elected Governor over Clement L. Vallandigham by the largest majority ever given in a seriously contested election. The vote of Cincinnati, Dayton, Steubenville, Ravenna, Bucyrus, and other towns heard from, render it morally certain that Brough has *at least* 20,000 majority on the Home vote, which the vote of the Ohio soldiers in field and hospital will swell to not less than *Sixty Thousand*. The rout is terrific and complete. All hail, glorious Ohio!

Postscript.—Further returns show that the Union avalanche in Ohio surpasses all calculation. Brough has not less than Fifty Thousand majority on the Home vote alone, which the army vote will swell to at least One Hundred Thousand. The rout is complete.—*Trib.*

RECOLLECTIONS OF THE RIOT—ANDREWS.

ON the morning of Monday, the 13th of July, the rioters initiated their work of arson, robbery, and murder, by firing the office of the Provost-Marshal on the Third avenue near Forty-sixth street.

A mass of men and half-grown boys were shouting and yelling like fiends in front of the flames the incendiary had kindled. The rioters were bent on mischief, and only needed the stimulus of advice from some leading spirit to send them headlong into every crime that darkens the calendar. At this peculiar crisis, when the fire was leaping from roof and window and the excited mob was thirsting like a tiger for blood, a well-dressed good-looking man, with the air of a gentleman and the speech of a scholar, ascended to the roof of a low building in the neighborhood and began to harangue the multitude. He repeated a part of a speech he had delivered a short time before at Fernando Wood's meeting in the large hall of the Cooper Institute, making additions to suit the circumstances by which he was surrounded at the moment. He encouraged the rioters to go on with the work they had commenced, and volunteered to lead them, if they wanted a leader and would accept his services.

The rowdies and ragamuffins, for such they were, received him with open arms. That day the rioters proceeded with their dreadful work of demolition, arson, burglary, highway robbery, and murder. They burned private property, they set fire to the Colored Orphan Asylum, they assaulted, robbed, and killed unoffending citizens.

Day after day the riot raged, and Andrews was at the head of it urging the villains to pursue their task and put down "the d—d Abolitionists, the *Tribune*, *Times*, and *Post* buildings" were marked on their slate for immediate destruction. Horace Greeley, W. C. Bryant, Henry J. Raymond, and others, were to be hanged or shot down in the streets.

One fine morning, at an early hour, three detectives, who had ascertained the whereabouts of Andrews, called at his lodgings with the announcement that the authorities were in pursuit of him, they had a coach at the door and would take him to a place of safety if he would accompany them. He arose at once, and, hastily dressing himself, hurried into the carriage, where, to his astonishment and alarm, he found himself a prisoner bound for the Police headquarters. He protested against the arrest, as arbitrary, and demanded an immediate examination.

The writer saw him soon after his arrival at the cell. He confessed that he had made a speech, said it was the same speech he had delivered at the Democratic meeting at the Cooper Institute, etc. It was well known that Judge McCunn was making preparations for flinging open the jail doors with the keys of *habeas corpus*, and allowing the rioters to escape imprisonment. Consequently, Andrews was transferred to the United States authorities and sent to Fort Lafayette for safe keeping. About six weeks ago he, with the other prisoners there, was sent to Fort Warren to afford the workmen an opportunity to make repairs and mount guns at Fort Lafayette. He is now at Fort Warren, subject to the call of the District Attorney, who can have him for trial whenever he makes the demand.

The case of Andrews is a very suggestive one. He is a Virginian, but preferred to live in New York. He is a white man, but at the time of his arrest he was living with a black mistress. He led the mob that pursued the negroes with such terrible ferocity at the time of the riot, and yet he was then living upon the earnings of a colored woman. He claims aristocratic associations, and yet he lived with the lowest orders of society. He had lived four years in the city, now and then exercising the functions of a small politician, and when the riot broke out the disease of disloyalty long latent in his heart broke out in disgusting eruptions upon the surface of his life. He was a Peace Democrat, that is, he was opposed to fighting the South, but he was willing to lead the mob to fight the patriotic citizens of the North. He voted the Democratic ticket, made Democratic speeches, associated with Democrats, and denounced all who were not Democrats as Abolitionists. Now, while he is in close confinement at Fort Warren for doing the bidding of the pro-slavery, anti-war Democracy of this city, the secession press of this city disown him and endeavor to create the impression that he has been set at liberty by the "Lincoln Administration."

SPEECH OF EDGAR KETCHUM,

In Presenting Flags at Dr. Cheever's Church to a Negro Regiment.

IT seems strange that here in New York, in this church on Union Square, after announcement in the newspapers, we should be presenting a stand of colors to a regiment of black men, lately slaves, battling against white men, lately masters: stranger still that this should be a part of the army of the United States, organized and equipped by the general government:—and most of all strange that these black men should be found worthy, in the judgment of the Secretary of State, to be mentioned to foreign nations as an element of our strength. "Exhibiting all necessary valor and devotion in military assaults with desperate courage and fearful loss."

For we reflect that for seventy years the black man was excluded from the militia by act of Congress, the act of 1792 providing for the enrollment of "each and every *free white*, male citizen of the respective States. And so when Gen. Banks was Governor of Massachusetts, and the Legislature passed a bill to enroll white and black men, it was vetoed by the Governor upon the decision of the Judges that it was prohibited by the act of Congress, and the bill was lost.

And the black man was long denied by the State Department (not lately) the protection of a citizen of the United States when going abroad, and was pronounced by Judge Taney and the Supreme Court incapable of being a citizen at all, and to have no rights that a white man was bound to respect.

But our necessities have brought us to a better mind, and on the 17th of July, a year ago, by act of Congress it was provided that the *enrollment of the militia* should in all cases include *all* able-bodied male citizens between 18 and 45; and the President was authorized to receive into the service of the United States, for the purpose of constructing intrenchments, or performing camp service, or any other labor, *or any military or naval service* FOR WHICH THEY MAY BE FOUND COMPETENT, persons of African descent.

But in less than a year after, that is, in March, 1863, the act of Congress for enrolling the National forces (very well known as the Draft law) declared that *all* able-bodied male citizens of the United States between 20 and 45 should constitute the National forces. And so, by the record made, persons of African descent *had been found* COMPETENT for military service. And at the same time the Attorney-General in an elaborate paper established the principle that such persons may be, and are, citizens of the United States. And hence the statement in Mr. Seward's august circular that it was "less than six months since the laws or customs of the United States would allow a man of African descent to bear arms in defence of his country, a service than which, says the preamble to the Draft law, "no service can be more praiseworthy and honorable," being "rendered for the maintenance of the Constitution and the Union, and the consequent preservation of free government."

Observe also that the act of 1862 reduced the compensation of the *negro* soldier, while the Draft law of '63 makes no such distinction.

And now remember that the man of African descent has earned the place he holds to-day in the National forces, and in the world's estimation. He has been reviled, contemned, scorned: he has been derided, hated, cast out:—but he has been patient, he answered not again. He has suffered in the dark places of cruelty, unheeded, and in truth, unknown, but with the earliest opportunity of distinguishing himself, he has seized and improved it. First, his fidelity and worth were proclaimed by the government in that memorable sentence of the Secretary's dispatch to Mr. Adams "Everywhere the American general receives his most useful and reliable information from the negro who hails his coming as the harbinger of freedom." Then, as soon as he is placed in the forefront of the battle, what "valor and devotion," what "desperate courage and fearful loss!" and yet I remember that a well-known paper of this city, while it described the carnage of Port Hudson, despised the negro more than ever, because his great exposure of himself there proved him without brains enough to get out of danger.

Yet negro courage is no new thing. Everybody remembers the negro in Col. Trumbull's picture of one of the earliest battles of the Revolution; and at New Orleans, General Jackson,—true patriot and generous soldier,—invited the negro into his ranks, and after victory gave honorable testimony to his courage and worth.

At Port Royal, on the Mississippi, in Charleston harbor, the black man of Massachusetts and the freedman of the plantation proved themselves, alike *men, soldiers*, fellow-citizens.

Let us be thankful that we have a President who has proclaimed freedom to the slave, and now repeats that he *shall be free*. And before he was President he said "God is just: and he who would *be* no slave must consent to *have* no slave." And that great mind (I allude to Mr. Secretary Chase) that built up the finances of this gigantic war, is coupled with a heart to say, "we cannot afford to wrong any part of our people. One poor man—colored though he be,—with God on his side, is stronger, if against us, than the hosts of the rebellion."

And so we will have this poor man on our side!

I think the history of the black man throughout this country, and all the period of our national history, from the beginning, along the bloody path of slavery, with his promptitude to fight and courage in battle, when at last allowed to be a soldier, is very affecting and will be ever memorable.

Are these not signs that the infernal system is passing away, and that our country shall be free indeed, and the people happy, of *all* classes? Think what free labor will then do for our country, and see that though we shall have been salted with fire, yet the sacrifice shall be followed with blessings above any we have ever known. In reverence, then, and in submission to the Divine will, let us say in this sacred place, "Blessed be the Lord my strength, which teacheth my hands to war, and my fingers to fight; my goodness and my fortress; my high tower and my deliverer; my shield and he in whom I trust."

Our Boston Correspondence.

BOSTON, October 13, 1863.

OUR Common has a new object of attraction this fall, in the deer lately presented to us by the city government of Philadelphia. A sufficient space adjoining the cemetery, and opposite the Winthrop House and the Public Library, has been "walled around, chosen and made peculiar ground," for the residence of these pretty creatures, and the entertainment of the many who come to gaze at them. Two bucks, three does, and two fawns were sent us; but one of the last mentioned little dears was so frisky in his enjoyment of his new quarters as to run against the green wire fence; on Sunday morning last, and break his neck. The remaining animals seem as tame and quiet as calves of the stall. A shelter from the winter's cold is soon to be provided for them.

It is said that a Southerner who lately came here, bringing with him twenty-five thousand dollars or so of

virtue, that of decision of character; it is not invested with doubts or uncertainties. There is no doubt as to who will be elected Governor, there is no uncertainty as to the political complexion of the next Legislature. Radicalism has the State, absolutely, and without any prospect of releasing its iron grasp." And he proceeds to declare the opinion of his sort of people here, that "public education in Massachusetts, for all the purposes of a Democratic form of government, is a failure." When we remember that the government here referred to is that pseudo-democracy which has always sought alliance with the propagandists of slavery, and has gratuitously done its dirty work of bullying and rioting, we may well feel satisfied with the free schools of Massachusetts. They have delivered us from barbarism such as was shown at the recent riot in your city; and barbarism is the first and chief danger for us to avoid.

Our Copperhead editors, as a matter of course, are delighted to copy the letter of Bishop Hopkins of Vermont, replying to Bishop Potter of Pennsylvania, and those clergymen of Philadelphia who unite with their Bishop in protesting against the deliberate vindication of slavery repeatedly published to the world by Bishop Potter. The latter dignitary entitles his reply a "Pastoral Letter," and is probably authorized to do so by the fact that he is Presiding Bishop of the Protestant Episcopal Church in the United States. He denies that the letter criticized by Bishop Potter favors rebellion, but he justifies and repeats its vindication of slavery. He favors a very gradual abolition of slavery whenever the South shall consent, and the whole strength of the government can aid in its accomplishment; but he insists that the first movement in this direction must come from the Southern States, and that, until then, "their legal rights and their natural feelings must be respected." The whole object of his letter, he says, was "to prove, from the Bible, that in the relation of master and slave there was necessarily no sin whatever."

It is instructive to notice the incidental admission that the whole strength of the government may be applied to the abolition of slavery if the South should consent. Bishop Hopkins has so long been in the habit of considering the South as the actual ruler, and the rightful ruler of the whole country, that he stipulates for nothing but the fulfillment of its wish. Any possible failure of consent by the North to a system of gradual abolition which would indefinitely prolong the troubles now brought upon us by slavery is not regarded by him as, in any manner or degree, an objection or an obstacle. Neither does he express any of those Constitutional objections to the action of government respecting slavery upon which his hunker friends lay such stress. His political creed seems to be—Let the will of the South be done.

This may give a useful hint for our attitude towards the defenders of slavery, both North and South. If one of themselves, even a prophet of their own, declares the consent of the North, the majority, to be needless, in a matter of national and governmental concern, surely we have some ground for the assumption that the wish of the South may be disregarded, when she is not only a minority, but a rebellious and felonious minority, whose immoral, illegal, and unconstitutional action has put her beyond the pale of law and Constitution alike.

Bishop Hopkins, however, gives a fair stroke of *argumentum ad hominem* at Bishop Potter, for his fraternal relation with slaveholders, and his seeming unconsciousness of anything exceptional on their part, before the rebellion. "For many years" (he says) "you have met in brotherly council with these Southern slaveholders. You invited them to the hospitalities of your house, and paid them especial deference. The new light of Eastern Abolitionism had not yet risen within our Church, and, if you then thought as you now think, you took excellent care that no man amongst your Southern friends should know it."

Now all this, and more of the same sort (no doubt literally true), would completely lose its sting if Bishop Potter were manly and Christian enough frankly to confess his past error, and that of his Church, in ignoring the claims of the slave, and holding a shameful complicity with the slaveholder. He does no such thing. He takes the freedom, as a man himself unimpeachable in that particular, to call Bishop Hopkins to account for doing that which he himself and the whole Church have practically united in doing ever since he has been a bishop. Practically, I say, they have always acted in a manner correspondent to Bishop Hopkins's theory. They have always fraternized with slaveholding bishops, clergy, and laymen, as with good churchmen and good Christians; they have always done what they could to give an ill name to anti-slavery men and anti-slavery measures; when business or accident brought them in sight of the chained and bleeding slave, they systematically passed by on the other side; and if the majority of them have not said, with Bishop Hopkins, that the slave is in his appropriate and Providentially appointed condition, it is because they did not choose to take the trouble of saying *anything* about him.

So far, therefore, the Vermont Bishop has his Pennsylvania opponents at advantage. In every other respect they have the advantage over him. But if they really believe the truths respecting slavery which their letter has set forth, they should immediately commence a missionary work in the same direction among the bishops, clergy, and lay members of the Episcopal Church; for no other in this country, not even the Romish, has been a staunch ally of slavery.

Bishop Hopkins declares that his letter (upon which the Pennsylvania clergymen have been commenting) was first published in January, 1861. It was republished, later in the same year, by the "American Society for Promoting National Unity" (a sort of spiritual Aid-to-Slavery Association, formed in that year), whose President was Rev. Samuel F. B. Morse, whose Secretaries were Reverends Hubbard Winslow and Seth Bliss, and whose "Society Rooms were at the Bible House, Astor Place, New York. Bishop Hopkins speaks of "its present form" as distinguishable in some respects from the others, so this is at least the third edition of this remarkable letter. And if any of the dignitaries of the Episcopal Church, or any of its members—except, indeed, some individuals so fanatical, or reformatory, or otherwise unchurchmanlike, as to be unworthy of notice by that august body—has anticipated Bishop Potter in making objection to its doctrine, THE STANDARD, I presume, will joyfully give him or them credit for the same, on receiving authentic information. *I* believe, with the senior Bishop Hopkins, who must be supposed to know that such conduct has been heretofore unprecedented in the Episcopal Church.

An immense gathering took place in the Tremont Temple last evening to hear an address from Judge Hiestand of New Orleans, on the the present crisis, and some facts in relation to it transpiring within his knowledge in Louisiana and New Orleans.

Judge H. is a good speaker, and showed in his bearing, the usual independent and self-assured demeanor of a man of high position in the South. He told the audience, by way of introduction, that he had lived thirty-four years in New Orleans, that he had been a slaveholder ever since he was able to own a slave, and that he is so now, as far as a resident of Louisiana can be under present circumstances. He even gave, very briefly, a sort of interrogative theological vindication of slavery, as a Providential arrangement for the ultimate benefit of the race enslaved. He spoke no word of condemnation of slavery on moral grounds. But he evidently considers that the march of events and the folly of the rebels have insured a speedy extinction of slavery, and he now wishes to hasten the process, on the ground that no action less than this will restore peace and prosperity to the country.

Among the points on which he felt able to bear positive testimony, were these:—that slavery, even without the war, was a doomed institution, but that the rebellion had accelerated its fate:—that Franklin Pierce and James Buchanan were fully cognizant of the plans of the rebel leaders, and were willing to aid them:—that even if the rebels had accomplished their separation, the result as to slavery would have been the same:—that history has presented, and can present, no greater paradox than the existing one, of rebels fighting for the maintenance of slavery, and of a government opposing them, and yet constantly trying to preserve slavery:—that, as to to the matter of legitimate jurisdiction, if an institution threatens the existence of a nation, it is the right and duty of the government to abolish it:—that, in point of fact, the Emancipation proclamation was a severer blow to the rebellion than all the Federal victories, and that slavery has now been disorganized to such an extent as to render its reorganization impossible:—that, as a matter of necessity, military law must at first prevail in each State conquered by the Federal forces, and that, the moment the last rebel army is vanquished, a military control must be established by the President over the entire South:—that the President will stand by and carry out his proclamation as surely as the sun will rise to-morrow morning:—and, finally, that if Providence had created a man for the particular exigency of the moment, he could have made none fitter for the administration of affairs in New Orleans than Benjamin F. Butler.

Prolonged and enthusiastic applause followed the utterance of the two statements last mentioned; and the speech, extended to an hour and a half by repeated requests of the audience, was frequently interrupted by warm expressions of approval. NORTH.

Our Washington Correspondence.

WASHINGTON, Oct. 12, 1863.

THE controversy respecting Missouri is not yet ended The Conservatives of that State have sent down here one or two of their best men to endeavor to bolster up Mr. Lincoln in his "conservative" policy, and the Radicals are not over-confident of carrying the day. They have already beaten the Missouri Copperheads in one or two respects—on one or two important points which they made in their memorial to the President. The rebels of Missouri will have to swear falsely or they can't vote in the elections about to come off—the election of judges. The President granted very quickly the request of the memorialists in this respect. He could not refuse it, for Gen. Burnside made out an order in Kentucky, just previous to the election in that State, compelling doubtful men to take an oath of allegiance previous to voting. It was a good stroke and helped the Union men very much. It will help the Radicals in Missouri, for it will drive away from the polls many of Gov. Gamble's friends. I would by no means insinuate that all of Gamble's supporters are Copperheads. No doubt a large number of the Gradual Emancipationists of Missouri are loyal men. There can be no doubt of it, and the cause of the Radicals will not be advanced by the use of false writing. But it is nevertheless a fact that all the rebels and Copperheads in the State, who are not bushwhacking under Quantrell and other guerilla leaders, gather about the so-called Conservative party, well knowing that in this way they can give the more active rebels of the South valuable assistance. It is very strange that Mr. Lincoln does not see this fact, but he does not. Some of his confidential advisers on this subject are not trustworthy men I fear. Mr. Blair is an open enemy to the Radicals. What *he* does is open and above board, but he has a great advantage over the outsiders. He has access to the President at all times and is a constitutional adviser.

I do not consider it at all certain however how the President will decide the matter. It is rumored privately that he has sent his private secretary, John Hay, out to Missouri to take a view of the condition of things in Missouri. Perhaps he has gone to Gen. Schofield with private instructions. This is a peculiar way of Mr. Lincoln's. He frequently interferes in military matters. *The National Intelligencer*, which is very cautious in its statements, printed the subjoined remarkable paragraph the other day:

"When the titular General-in-Chief of all our forces has for weeks been left in total ignorance respecting the movements and the plans of the army nearest to him, it was impossible that he could give any intelligent *esemble* to our military arrangements throughout the whole extended field of operations, and this we know has been the case more than once. Military plans the most important have been concerted and military demonstrations the most formidable have been arrested by the President without the privity of Gen. Halleck or without even imparting to him a knowledge of the situation resulting in a particular field from the dispositions that had been made or overruled. And all this while he was presiding, or is supposed to have been presiding, over the general operations of our armies in other fields—at what disadvantages the readers will readily conceive when he takes into account the fact that, in a long line of operations, concert of action, it not simultaneity of movement, is indispensable to success at any and every point."

This has reference to military matters alone. But Mr. Lincoln steps in and directs each department occasionally. Some time ago, as is well known now, he sat down and wrote a letter to Mr. Adams, our Minister in England, concerning our foreign relations, and sent it by private hand across the ocean without consulting Mr. Seward or the State Department. It is said that Mr. Seward is dissatisfied with the liberty taken by the President. Whether this be so or not is a matter of speculation I presume, as Mr. Seward is too shrewd a diplomatist to avow his displeasure at the conduct of his chief. It would be natural enough for him to be dissatisfied, however. But this is episodical, going to show that the President does many things "upon his own hook," without consulting anybody. In this case the President may be making up his mind to do justice in Missouri, and more speedily and thoroughly than his friends or enemies suppose. We must wait and see.

I was much interested the other day in the statement, made to me by an official in the Navy Department, that the navy would this day have to put a large number of war vessels out of commission were it not for the fact that the colored men have volunteered so largely. The navy is to-day without the sailors it needs. There are war-vessels waiting at this moment for seamen to enable them to put to sea, and were it not for the fact that colored sailors have in large numbers been employed by the department. The Navy Department has never made any distinction between white and colored seamen, and it has profited by the fact. It depends to-day very much upon its colored sailors, and is obtaining volunteers constantly from among them.

The coloved Odd Fellows of Washington indulged in a grand procession on Friday of last week, with banners and music, marching through all the principal streets. The Superintendent of the Police, fearing an attempt at insult, placed policemen along the route of the procession, but the precaution was totally unnecessary, as nobody had the disposition to interfere with the innocent amusement of the colored people. Everything passed off happily, and though it was a novel sight for this slaveholding community, yet I heard no unpleasant remarks from the crowd of spectators lining the Avenue. Washington is changing rapidly in many respects, and in none more decidedly than in this vile anti-negro prejudice. Colored soldiers now excite no remark, not even from the Copperheads. I believe Fernando Wood, who was down here for two or three days last week looked upon the uniformed negro with complacency. Wood, by the way, means to make a great impression upon the combined opposition this Winter. He is coming out in a dashing style in the housekeeping line, and will doubtless endeavor to lead the Opposition. But he will find the thing impossible. The Opposition is made up of such different shades of Copperheadism that it can have no recognized leader. But I was writing of colorphobia and the colored people of Washington and this vicinity. I am sorry that the President has so promptly interfered in behalf of the Maryland slaveholders, ordering Col. Birney to stop enlisting slaves in that State. Col. Birney is pained at this order, but after all Mr. Lincoln gives the slaveholders an unpleasant alternative. He says to them, "Very well, we must have soldiers from Maryland, and if you prefer to furnish white ones it is all the same. Then we will give you the draft over and over again, and we will not accept black men as substitutes for white drafted ones!" This doctrine will soon bring Maryland to her senses, I imagine, and the President may be taking the right way to cure the slave-owners of their madness.

The Maryland election comes off in a short time now, and it is expected that the emancipationists will elect three members of Congress. It is greatly to be hoped that Henry Winter Davis will be successful, for he has a powerful opposition among the wealthy and the aristocratic in Baltimore. Even the Union men who are pro-slavery are dead against him. Gov. Thomas will surely be reelected, and he will support the President in his emancipation schemes.

The next House of Representatives is now considered to be absolutely certain for a small Administration majority. On all general questions which concern the prosecution of the war, the voting of supplies, and so forth, the government will have a majority of from thirty to fifty, but on purely party questions the Republican majority will not be more than five or six. If it were not true that to be in the opposition in these days means to be more or less treasonable, I should like to see the Republicans cut down to a very small majority. It is by far the best fate for any party. A big majority in Congress always leads any party into trouble. The bad men who hang upon the skirts of any political organization always take advantage of a big majority to record all manner of swindles through Congress. If they do not succed, they at least attempt it, and the party is injured.

Dr. Bellows preached yesterday at the Unitarian church in this city. He is very popular here as a preacher, and wherever it is announced that he will preach the church is crowded. You are aware that he is not the most radical anti-slavery clergyman in the country, but he is sufficiently so to make him a good emancipationist. Mr. Channing is absent in Europe, as you are aware, and is not expected back here for some weeks yet. He has accomplished a noble work since he came to Washington, always advocating the war, though by nature a gentle and peaceable man, and what is still better and nobler always befriending the black man. I say still better, for in this Southern community it requires a deeper Christianity to deal generously with the colored man than it does to advocate the war. I know a good many bad men here who would like to see the war go on for ten years. They make money out of it. Mr. Channing does not, and still is for the war and for the rights of the slave. There are many people in Washington who watch his course in Europe with deep interest, and will welcome him back home most cordially. AVON.

ELECTION IN PENNSYLVANIA.—The mighty struggle for the Governorship of the Keystone State closed last evening (Tuesday), and the returns are coming in—those which we have received up to this hour (2 a.m.) decidedly favoring the reelection of Andrew G. Curtin. Philadelphia, which gave 1,826 against him in 1860, now gives some 7,500 for him; steadfast Lancaster has increased her majority from 5 839 in '60 to 6,500 now; noble Bradford, in spite of a local split, gives him 3,500 against 4,336 in '60; loyal Chester gives him 2,400 against 1,627 in '60; and partial returns indicate gains for Curtin in Delaware, Montgomery, Snyder, and several other Counties. The coal-mining counties—Luzerne, Schuylkill, Wayne, etc., do considerably worse than in 1860. There are also gains for Woodward in Northampton, Monroe, and perhaps in Pike, but they cannot breast the fresh tide of Union gains that flow in at this moment from the West. Look here:

Alleghany Co., 8,000 majority for Curtin.
Erie Co., 3,000 do. do.
Venango Co., large gains for Curtin.
Beaver Co., reported do. do.
Westmoreland reduced Democratic majority.

The case is clear, even admitting that Berks has given the rumored 8,000 majority for Woodward. The vote is immense, and Gov. Curtin has a large majority, in spite of the disfranchisement of Pennsylvania absent soldiers, by which he loses not less than 40,000. All our returns up to this hour embrace full half the vote of the State, and he stands better on the net result than in 1860, when he carried the State by 32,128 majority. We think it safe to assume that he has now at least 20,000.

Three cheers for the Keystone of the Arch, and for "Liberty and Union, now and forever, one and inseparable!"—*N. Y. Tribune.*

Chronicles of the War.

Latest News in Brief.

The Hon. Jedediah Jewett, Collector of Portland, Maine, died on Saturday, after a brief illness, of Diphtheria.

The Boston *Transcript* says "Charles Sumner will have an article in the next *Atlantic Monthly* that will be read in Paris with interest.

A Mobile dispatch of the 6th states that 1,500 Union cavalry, with four guns, attacked Col. Richardson the day before, near New Albany, Miss., but were repulsed.

The President has postponed his reply to the address by the Missouri-Kansas Delegation, and has reserved his decision for a few days longer.

The rebels under Gen. Lee of Johnston's staff are said to be concentrating near Columbus, Miss., where they have extensive iron and other manufactories and strong works of defense.

Two hundred and fifty men belonging to the Eleventh Vermont Regiment arrived in this city on Tuesday and stopped at the Park Barracks. They are expected to take their departure soon for the seat of war.

The yellow fever has been very prevalent at Pensacola, but at last advices the surgeons had gained control of it. Paymaster Junkins of the gunboat Potomac, and Paymaster John C. Hill had died of it.

A letter from Beaufort says it was not the Sumter which was destroyed by mistake in Charleston harbor by the rebels. The Sumter is said to be now at Wilmington, armed and awaiting a chance to run the blockade, which consists at present of eight steamers.

Government has received a dispatch from Gen. Rosecrans, dated Sunday evening, from which it appears that all his communications are complete, his forces in position, raiders dispersed, and the enemy in his front inactive. The troops are in good condition and fine spirits.

A letter has been received in Boston from one of the boat's crew of the Housatonic, captured in the attack on Sumter on the 8th of September last. On the 21st of September the prisoners taken at that time, numbering 96 men and 14 officers, were in Columbia, all well, and expecting to be exchanged soon.

Major Wileman of the 18th Kentucky Regiment, who was wounded in the battle of Chickamauga, and who lately returned home, was taken from his house in Pendleton County, Kentucky, on Monday, by a gang of guerillas, stripped of his clothing, tied to a tree and shot. Five of the murderers have been caught, and brought to Cincinnati.

It is reported from rebel sources that Lieut-Gen Polk and Maj-Gen. Hindman have been relieved of their commands by order of Gen. Bragg, for alleged disobedience of orders—the latter for failing to occupy a certain pass in the mountains prior to the great battles and prevent a concentration of our forces, and the former for not opening the battle on Sunday at sunrise, instead of 10 o'clock.

Gen. Cook, commanding a brigade of cavalry, had a sharp skirmish with Wharton's rebel cavalry, twelve miles beyond Franklin, Ky., on Thursday 8th inst., killed and wounded 125, took 300 prisoners, and captured four pieces of cannon. The rebels were completely routed, and our force followed closely upon their heels, hoping to make a finish of them.

The advices received from the Army of the Cumberland are still of the most encouraging character. Gen. Mitchel overtook the rebel cavalry at Shelbyville and completely routed them. They were in such haste to get away that they left all their wounded on the field. The railroads torn up by the rebels have been repaired, and telegraphic communication reestablished.

It appears that there were but three buildings burned by the rebels at Shelbyville—the Court-House and two other houses. The residents were plundered, and it is said 1,500 prisoners were taken, but this is doubted. At Waldron's Ridge the rebels captured Capt. Smith of Gen. Sheridan's staff, a number of army and sutlers' wagons, and 487 men. At McMinnville they captured 587 men.

The latest dispatches received at the headquarters of the army affirm positively that Gen. Rosecrans' army is so strongly intrenched at Chattanooga as to be impregnable to any assault. The raiders that have been operating in the rear are all dispersed, the enemy in front are inactive, and our troops are in good physical condition and excellent spirits. The report is not credited at Washington that Longstreet's corps has retured to its formerplace with the army of Gen. Lee.

The United States steamer, Circassian, which arrived at Fortress Monroe on Saturday from Pensacola and Charleston Bar, reports that a combined land and naval attack was to be made on the city of Charleston on Sunday, the 11th inst. Occasional shelling of the forts on James Island and Fort Sumter had been going on for some days previous. The yellow fever was very prevalent at Pensacola; but at the time of the departure of the Circassian the surgeons had succeeded in getting control of it.

Indiana has a noble record in the archives of the government. She will allow no battles for the Union to be fought without she is represented where soldiers are most needed. She has been officially credited with an excess of 1,686 men over her quotas under all calls, and is now forming eleven regiments—seven of infantry and four of cavalry—all of which are expected to be filled by the 10th of November. Indiana believes with Winter Davis that the "road to peace is over the battle-field."

Gen. Burnside, advancing along the East Tennessee and Virginia Railroad on Saturday, overtook the rebel forces under Mudwall Jackson and Gen. Williams, at Blue Springs. The enemy were in a strong position, and a sharp engagement ensued, when at sundown they were driven from the field, but darkness rendered immediate pursuit impossible. The next morning the rebels continued their retreat on the Greenville Road with our force in pursuit. Our loss was some 60 killed and wounded.

Richmond papers of Thursday, 8th inst., have dispatches saying that Bragg opened on Chattanooga on the 5th from Lookout Mountain and all along their line. They say their shells exploded in the Union camp, and set one house on fire in the town. Rosecrans made a brisk reply. The next day there was no firing. The Tennessee was rising rapidly.

The official account of the attack on our forces at Vidalia, opposite Natchez, shows the object of the rebels to have been to capture the negroes recruited for Col. Farrar's regiment and destroy a pontoon train. The negroes had been removed to the other side of the river, and the rebels retreated without accomplishing any part of their purpose.

Gen. Magruder's official report of the affair at Sabine Pass, makes out a brilliant victory for the rebels. He says the fort mounted but three guns of small caliber, resisted the fire of five gunboats and forced the surrender of two of the vessels, with fifteen heavy guns, 200 men, among them the Commodore of the fleet, and killed and wounded over 50 more, while not a man was lost on the rebel side or a gun injured.

The reported capture of Glasgow, Ky., last week, consisted of a sudden dash upon the place by 110 rebels under Capt. Hughes, causing a panic, in which they captured about 90 prisoners, arms and horses, with whom they hastily left the place. simply because Major Martin of the 37th Kentucky mounted infantry, and Lieut. Chenoworth opened a fire from a Henry rifle, discharging about sixteen shots at them. Major Martin placed himself at the head of a party, pursued the flying rebels and recaptured the prisoners and horses. The rebels left in such a hurry that they robbed no one.

We have some particulars of Gen. Sully's expedition up the Missouri, against the Indians, and the fight at White Stone Hills. After three days' fighting 300 Indians were killed, and a large number wounded, when the remainder fled, leaving everything they possessed behind, even their squaws and children. The Indians fought like demons, but the steady fire of our troops were too much for them.

On Saturday morning the rebels under Coffee and Shelby, making a raid in Central Missouri, were reported as coming Eastward, and had reached a point within five miles of Tipton. On Friday last they interrupted telegraphic communication about thirty miles west of Jefferson City, having struck the Pacific Railroad at that point. Active preparations are now in progress at Sedelia for the defense of that post.

A rebel dispatch from Charleston, of the 6th, speaks of an attack made that day upon the Ironsides, damaging that vessel and alarming the fleet. The attack seems to have been made by the gunboat Chicora and others, as a Lieutenant of that boat is missing. There had been little firing for twenty-four hours from the Union works. The works on Morris Island seems to be about finished.

Our St. Louis correspondent sends us the particulars of the recent invasion of Missouri by a guerilla band under Col. Joe Shelby. Owing to the concentration of Union troops in the Southwest these outlaws have become emboldened to such a degree that there is cause to fear that they will entirely overrun a large portion of that section of the country. They are moved by the desire of plunder, and it is thought that the result will be the concentration of a formidable body under Quantrell, for the purpose of laying waste a vast extent of country.

The Philadelphia *North American* says that the demoniac guerilla Quantrell is no other than the celebrated thief, forger, and bigamist known as Dr. J. B. Hayne, whose likeness is in the Central Station Rogues Gallery. He served five years in the Frankfort, Ky., Prison, being liberated just before the rebellion broke out. He changed his name and obtained government employment as a Major at Washington, but was found unfit for his position. Many years of his life have been spent in prison. He was an expert forger, a cold-blooded murderer, and a heartless debauchee—in short a cavalier of the first water.

We have advices from Charleston Bar as late as the 9th inst. On the night of the 6th the rebel sent down a torpedo attached to a raft for the purpose of blowing up the Ironsides, lying at anchor off Fort Moultrie. The torpedo exploded under the bow of the vessel, throwing up a vast volume of water, putting out all her fires, killing Ensign Howard, and wounding two seamen, but doing no damage to the vessel. The man who had charge of the torpedo was captured. The Ironsides remained in her position, and the monitors were doing picket duty off Sumter. Gen Gillmore was still engaged in erecting his batteries.

The wildest rumors prevail in Washington concerning the military situation in front of Washington. Some of them not only put the army into a panic-stricken rout, but declare that it had placed the Potomac between it and the rebel army. The fact is whatever movement has taken place is in accordance with orders, and in consequence of recently developed designs of the enemy. Equally extravagant reports are in circulation respecting the movements of the rebel army. It is thought, however, that all the problems raised by these reports will very shortly be solved.

Parties from the Potomac Army report considerable skirmishing on Monday between the cavalry on either side, and that sharp musketry firing was heard in the afternoon in the vicinity of Rappahannock Station. It is presumed in Washington that Gen. Meade's movement was one previously decided upon in case of certain contingencies. On Sunday night our forces crossed the Rappahannock, and on Monday morning two corps re-crossed and drove the enemy to Brandy Station, with a severe loss of killed, wounded, and prisoners on the rebel side. They then received an order to fall back, which they did in good order.

The Boston *Traveller* of last evening says: "A letter received in this city from Beaufort, dated September 24, states that the Nansemond had arrived at that port. The Britannia was there, broken down. The Cambridge and Quaker City are also there, incapacitated for service. A postscript to this letter, dated off Wilmington, mentions the arrival of the Iroquois. The vessels now composing the blockading squadron there are the Dacotah, Shenandoah, Connecticut, Iron Age, Nansemond, Howquah, and Daylight. They will be likely to render the blockade more efficient than it has heretofore been. The famed steamer Sumter has not been destroyed in Charleston harbor, as reported, but is now in Wilmington, armed and ready to come out."

The startling report reaches us from Washington that the whole rebel army has crossed the Rapidan, and that Gen. Meade has fallen back to the north bank of the Rappahannock. When our forces retired from Culpepper they burned such stores as could not be conveniently carried away, in order to prevent them falling into the hands of the enemy. The rebels are said to have commenced the passage of the Rapidan on Thursday last, moving in the direction of Madison Court-house, as stated yesterday, with the evident intention of turning Gen. Mead's right wing. Heavy cavalry forces have been sent to our front to dislodge the rebels, who are said to be holding all the gaps in the Bull Run Mountains.

A letter from Harper's Ferry, 9th inst., to the Baltimore *American*, says: "A detachment of Capt. Summer's cavalry company, stationed at Charlestown, was attacked at Summit Point by a superior force of Gillmore's rebel battalion, when a brisk fight ensued, in which Capt. Summers was instantly killed. He fell to the ground lifeless from his horse, shot through the neck. Five of Summer's men were taken prisoners and one killed. The rest succeeded in making their escape. The rebels left one man killed upon the field. To the disgrace of the officer in command he permitted the body of Capt. Summers to be robbed of five hundred dollars, while his boots, hat, and coat were also taken. In this condition the body was found upon the field and removed to Charlestown. Having accomplished this chivalrous feat the rebels beat a hasty retreat, and are now closely pursued by Cole's cavalry.

We have three days later news from New Orleans. An important movement by Gen. Franklin's overland Texas expedition was daily expected. Intelligence had been received from Gen. Herron's expedition against guerillas, in the vicinity of Morganza, a few miles above Port Hudson. Upon reaching the Atchafalaya River, it was found the rebels were in a strong position, and it was deemed advisable to prepare for an attack. At the same time, a force of some 400, under Lieut.-Col. Leake of the 20th Iowa, was thrown forward five or six miles. The rebels secretly crossed the river, and got between Col. L.'s command and the main body, forcing a severe fight which lasted half an hour, when our troops were obliged to surrender. The main body was hurried up, but the rebels hurried off. Owing to ill-health, Gen. Herron was obliged to ask to be relieved from duty, and Gen. Dana took his place prior to these events. Gen. Herron arrived in this city on Saturday, by the steamer Evening Star. The Captain of the blockade-runner Sir Robert Peel has protested against the capture of that vessel, on the plea that she was in Mexican waters at the time of her seizure. The matter will undergo investigation. The French corvette Colbert had arrived at New Orleans.

The news from the Army of the Potomac is exciting. For several days past a movement has been going on in the rebel army which has caused considerable anxiety. Early on Saturday morning one of Gen. Kilpatrick's cavalry brigades attempted a reconnoissance on the south side of Robertson's River, when they were met by a large body of Stuart's Cavalry. After fighting an hour Kilpatrick was obliged to fall back upon our infantry reserves. Another severe contest ensued when the intantry was also obliged to give way, losing a considerable number of prisoners. A detachment of our cavalry then made a gallant dash at the enemy and recaptured all but 15 or 20 of our lost men. The whole of our force, however, was pushed back toward Culpepper, contesting every foot of the ground. Heavy firing was heard in the afternoon, indicating that the contest had been resumed. It is believed that the rebels have been changing their line, with a view to making a demonstration upon our right rear and cut off our railroad communication. It is said that Gen. Meade is fully prepared for any movement, and ready to receive them at any point they may choose to attack.

Guerillas at Woodburn, Warren County, Kentucky, have recently committed many depredations, burning a number of houses, robbing citizens, etc. Reports are made, Eighty-five guerillas surprised our forces there, amounting to upward of three hundred, and captured nearly all of them. The officer commanding is said to have killed three rebels with a revolving rifle, and on approaching the stockade found it occupied by the rebels, but six of our men being in it when overpowered. The Nashville *Press* denies the burning of the bridge, by the rebels, over Stewart's Creek. It says that Wheeler crossed the river at Washington, last Thursday morning, 13 miles above Chattanooga, and passed down the Sequatchie Valley. The rebels captured 50 wagons of one of our trains at the foot of the mountains near Anderson's Cross Roads, burning a number of them, and killing about 300 horses and mules. The train was loaded with ammunition, clothing, and rations. Forty of the wagons were carrying medical and sanitary stores. About fifty sutlers' teams were also lost. Gen. Mitchel with the Union cavalry, as soon as he learned of the crossing of the rebels, pursued them, and on Friday and Saturday killed and wounded 70 rebels took 200 prisoners and recaptured 250 mules. On reaching Walnut Range the rebels shot 200 mules to prevent their falling into our hands.

The Army and the Negroes.

"EVERYWHERE THE AMERICAN GENERAL RECEIVES HIS MOST USEFUL AND RELIABLE INFORMATION FROM THE NEGRO, *who hails his coming as the harbinger of Freedom.*"—*Wm. H Seward's Official Dispatch to Mr. Adams.*

PRESENTATION OF FLAGS TO THE SECOND LOUISIANA COLORED REGIMENT.

There was a large and enthusiastic gathering of patriotic men and women at the Church of the Puritans last evening to witness the presentation of a set of colors to the Second Louisiana Colored Regiment, whose courage and soldierly bearing was conspicous in its daring charge at Port Hudson in which attack it lost 300 men. Colored soldiers, owing to their powers of imitation and habits of obedience, are easily disciplined into good fighting material. They are as eager as the whites to front the enemy. They go as near to the opposing batteries as the whites do. They know that they are fighting the battle of freedom, and that they are fighting against oppression. After the usual devotional exercises, Dr. Cheever said it was his intention to have continued his discourses on the claims of the colored race, but he would cheerfully give way to the gentlemen present. He read an extract from a newspaper, showing that colored soldiers received only $10 per month, and of that amount $3 per month is withheld to be appropriated for their military clothing. The soldiers of the Fifty fourth Regiment are disinclined to accept such pay and their officers could not prevail upon them to accept it.

The Rev. Mr. Bradford, of the 12th Connecticut, being introduced, said his was the Fifth Regiment on Ship Island. It afterwards went to New Orleans; remained in camp six months, about ten miles from the city, under Gen. Phelps; afterwards went to Port Hudson. Thus he had opportunities to study the character of the negro. He had every reason to believe that negroes make good soldiers. He spoke of the cruel treatment of the negroes at the South. He exhibited an iron collar which he had taken from the neck of a negro. He related a number of cases of cruelty to the blacks, and then proceeded at great length to speak of the peculiar characteristics of the black soldiers.

The Rev. Mr. Conway followed. He stated that he was a member of the colored corps. He had good opportunities for studying the character and peculiarities of colored men. He knew what constituted a good regiment, having been with one of the best white regiments (the Fire Zouaves) in the service. He did not think they were superior to white soldiers, but he thought they were equal to them in valor and endurance. He never saw a colored soldier put in the guard-house; never heard of a single case of drunkenness in his regiment; he never saw a colored soldier court-martialed. We wanted soldiers, and he was glad to see hundreds of them go down into Berwick Bay, their rags taken from them, their persons washed with soap and water, and Uncle Sam's uniform put upon them. Then they stood up erect and proud, and felt their manhood. If at first they are awkward in going through the manual of arms, they soon get over that awkwardness, for they drill for amusement after going through the regular drill. After a little practice they go through the evolutions just as well as white men do. The injustice of not paying them as much as white soldiers receive for the same service is a source of annoyance. They are not only useful as soldiers, but they are useful as laborers, working faithfully everywhere—cutting new roads, bridging gulfs, digging dykes, raising sunken vessels, loading and unloading vessels, etc. They endure hardships patiently—they face danger bravely.

[Edgar Ketchum, Esq., presented the colors. His address will be found in another column.]

The following lines were written by some one in the audience and sent to the pulpit to be read:

Our fathers looked to God on high,
And copied from the starry sky
The beautiful and grand design
That gives our flag a light divine.

The stars are freedom's signal lights,
The field of blue truth's lofty heights,
The white emblems snow, purity;
The red, courage and constancy.

A collection was taken up to aid a school to be organized for the benefit of the members of this regiment.

The colors were of the usual size and richly ornamented. In a scroll was the name of the regiment, dates, etc., etc.—*N. Y. Tribune.*

NEGRO SOLDIERS IN NASHVILLE.

There is a negro recruiting office on Cedar street, at the door of which stands a negro sentinel with his musket. A number of persons standing around yesterday, took considerable interest in noting the conduct of white officers who passed by. The sentinel saluted every officer that came along, and received the usual recognition. At last Gen. Granger was espied riding up the street, accompanied by a lady and he immediately became the focus of all eyes. What would he do? Would he return the salutation of the sentinel of African lineage? *He did.* Returning shortly after, by himself, the sentinel saluted him the second time. The General paused, put him through a brief lesson in the manual, and when he brought him to "present arms," saluted him and departed. We hope this example of the worthy General will not be lost upon the lesser lights, who appear to be afraid that the negro will get upon an equality with them, or they with the negro, we don't exactly know which, and who are shocked with the impropriety of putting arms into the hands of men of color.—*Nashville Union*, 4.

AYER'S CHERRY PECTORAL—the world's great remedy for Colds, Coughs and Consumption.

Summary.

The comment of the English press on the speech of Senator Sumner is generally unfavorable.

England is said to have proposed that the European Powers should no longer recognize the title of Russia to Poland.

It was expected that Archduke Maximilian would formally make known his acceptance of the Mexican throne to the Mexican delegation on the 3d of October.

The City of Baltimore, from Liverpool, Sept. 30, Queenstown, October 1, passed Cape Race on Friday, bringing two days later news from Europe.

A fifty thousand dollar fire occurred on Thursday, in East Water st., Milwaukee. One block was quite consumed, and two others much damaged.

Samuel V. Bixby has been arrested in Boston on the charge of obtaining $15,000 from Edward B. Grant, a broker, under false pretenses.

The news of the repulse of Gen. Rosecrans had reached England, and caused the Confederate Loan to advance 5 per cent.

The steamship Africa, from Liverpool Oct. 3, via Queenstown Oct. 4, arrived at St. Johns, N. F., yesterday. Her news is two days later.

The Paris *Siecle* remarks, with regard to the reported mission of Alexander H. Stephens to Paris, that the time for a recognition of the South, if it ever existed, has passed.

Our naval visitors—English, French, and Spanish—yesterday visited our charitable and reformatory institutions. The Russian officers were prevented from participating by prior engagements.

The Manchester Southern Club had memorialized Lord Russell to make representations on the conduct of the war at Washington. The Secretary of Foreign Affairs replied that Lord Lyons would be instructed to report on the subject.

By the arrival of the Jura, from Liverpool, Oct. 1, and Londonderry, Oct. 2, off Father Point, we have one day later news from Europe. The City of Baltimore, which arrived at this port yesterday, brings three days later foreign files.

The third series of 5-20 bonds, $100,000,000, is nearly ready for issue, and the indications are that they will soon be taken up. Most of the work has been done in the Treasury Department, at an important pecuniary saving.

William W. Keyser, the Democratic Assessor, of the XIth Ward of Philadelphia, has been arraigned for refusing to assess Robert McAllister, a resident soldier, home on furlough. The omission was, of course, to deprive the soldier of his vote.

Three of the negroes concerned in the murder of the Buckham family were hanged at Columbus, Ky., on Friday last. Three others, indirectly concerned in the murder, were sentenced to imprisonment for five years, and one for one year.

The English papers continue commenting upon the repulse of Rosecrans. *The Times* and *The Daily News* eulogize the superior strategy of the Confederate Generals; *The Herald* considers the battle as the most decisive one yet fought in the Western States.

It is probable that twelve more Russian war vessels will visit our harbor the coming Winter. Admiral Lessoffsky and all his officers have been invited to visit the great cities of the West, and a special train put at their service.

The Mexican deputation had an interview with Maximilian on the 3d of October. The Archduke declared himself ready to accept the throne on a free, spontaneous expression of the population, and by a guaranty for integrity in the independence of the country.

We are told by persons recently from Paris that the accomplished and elegant young men sent out by the rebel government as diners-out, and to influence opinion in French society, have been left quite without money. Mr. Slidell refuses to advance any more of his own funds, and the Northerners refuse to lend.

A London newspaper has the following report: "Mr. James Buchanan, formerly Minister Plenipotentiary and Envoy Extraordinary to the Court of St. James, from

Miscellaneous Department.

FOR THE ANTI-SLAVERY STANDARD.

THE VISION.

Last night a glorious vision
No eye but mine could see,
On sleep's white, beautiful pinion
Came down from my Lord to me.
I heard no song of the angels,
Only a still, small voice;
But it glorified all the silence
And made the night rejoice.

Oh, friend, would you know the vision
That down to my soul has flown,
That out of the starry silence
Spoke to my heart alone?
The glad and glorious vision
No eye but mine could see,
That on Sleep's white, beautiful pinion
Came down from my Lord to me?

If ever my faith grows stronger
As gloomier grows the night—
If out of the stormy darkness
I point to the coming light—
Be sure I have told the vision
No eye but mine could see,
That on sleep's white, beautiful pinion
Came down from my Lord to me.

CAROLINE A. MASON.

SPEECH OF GEORGE THOMPSON,

At a Soiree given in grateful recognition of his long and earnest services in the cause of Negro Emancipation, and of Commercial, Political and Social Reform, at the Whittington Club, London, Feb. 26th, 1863—the Right Hon. Lord Teynham in the chair.

[The following speech, though here given considerably after date, will please our readers, we are sure, on account of its autobiographic value.]

A COMPLIMENTARY Address to Mr. Thompson having been read, and unanimously adopted by the meeting—

The Noble Chairman rose, and said: Mr. George Thompson—Allow me to say, that no intelligent, patient labor is without its fruit. It always receives a blessing from on high. Ladies and Gentlemen—the very records which are contained in this address testify to our friend and to ourselves, that the most blessed fruits of his labors at home and abroad have resulted from the seed which he has been enabled to sow. I have only now to say, in addition to what is expressed here, that we hope it may please you, Mr. Thompson, to accept this address at our hands, representing to you, as it does, the ripe fruits of friendship. No doubt, you have in your heart feelings which make you glad; and, with God's blessing strengthening you, we hope that you may live to see the consummation of your fervent wishes for the emancipation of the negro.

Mr. Thompson rose amidst loud and prolonged applause, which having subsided, he spoke as follows:

My Lord, Ladies, and Gentlemen; kind and partial friends—On this occasion, I have to discharge a duty which, of all others, I am most unfitted to fulfill; for I have never yet learned how to utter, appropriately, the language of deep-seated gratitude. But, even if I had mastered that language, the obligations I am under to those now present, as well as to many others in this and foreign countries, for kindnesses received, for help afforded, and for consolation and encouragement in hours of darkness and perplexity, would overpower me at this moment, and render me unable to express, in suitable terms, the feelings of my heart. My lord, the address which, on behalf of the ladies and gentlemen who compose this assembly, you have now presented to me in this truly elegant form, seems to have been intended to comprise an epitome of the chief labors of my public life; and it may, therefore, be my warrant for furnishing on this occasion some explanation of the motives by which I have been actuated throughout my career, as the exponent of various great questions. In common with other public men, the principles which have governed me have often been greatly misunderstood, or at least greatly misrepresented. Let me say, then, once for all, in the presence of him who reads all hearts, and for the satisfaction and assurance of those who may come after me, that I have never in a single act of my public life been decided in my course by any mercenary feeling, or any consideration of pecuniary reward. At the commencement of my public career I was, if not without a purpose, certainly without a plan. My purpose, even from my boyhood, was to employ any ability with which God had endowed me for the advancement of the happiness, and especially the freedom, of mankind. This purpose I was first enabled to carry out in connection with the cause so prominently placed at the heading of the address before me—that of Negro Emancipation. I cannot remember the time when my heart was not deeply penetrated with a sense of the injustice and wrong done to the negro race by the prosecution of the African slave trade, and the maintenance, in the British Colonies of the unchristian and inhuman institution of slavery. In my infancy I had listened to the recital, by my father, of the horrible scenes common on board slave ships, during the "middle passage," and had conceived a rooted detestation of the accursed traffic. I had early committed to memory Cowper's beautiful vindication of the claims of the negro, commencing with the well-known lines:

"Forced from home and all its pleasures,
Afric's coast I left forlorn,
To increase a stranger's treasures,
O'er the raging billows borne."

As I grew up, I became familiar with the records of the labors of pious missionaries who had devoted themselves to the work of preaching the Gospel to the black population of the West Indies. I had read the writings of Wesley, Whitfield, and Coke, describing the degraded condition of the negroes on the plantations of America and in our Colonies; and still later, I had filled a situation in the Wesleyan Mission House, in London, where I had an opportunity of seeing the correspondence between the society's missionaries abroad and the committee at home. In the year 1828, when I was twenty-four years of age, I was associated with a number of young men, who met weekly at the house of a gentleman in the city, for the purpose of improving themselves by the discussion, in the way of debate, of questions of public interest. Slavery was one of these questions, the disputants advocating, respectively, measures of immediate or gradual emancipation. Our debate continued through eleven nights, and ended in the adoption of a memorial to Lord Bathurst, who was at that time the Secretary for the Colonies, praying for the introduction of a bill into Parliament for the abolition of Negro Slavery. At a period somewhat later I introduced the subject, as one for discussion, into the debating class of the Literary and Scientific Institution in Aldersgate street, of which I was one of the earliest members. Our debates took place in the theatre, and were attended by the members generally, and their friends, and our audiences often numbered 600 or 700 persons of both sexes, and were of a highly intelligent character. The speakers were young men, several of them of remarkable talent, and a few have since distinguished themselves in public life. Then, as ever since, I maintained the duty, necessity, and safety of immediate emancipation. We had an animated discussion for three nights, at the close of which, after a speech of more than an hour in length I obtained a decision in favor of the proposition I had laid down. The majority in my favor was very large, and I regarded the result as the first great triumph I had achieved in the cause of truth and justice. At this time I was a clerk in a mercantile house, and though fond of reading and of exercising my talent as a speaker, and often congratulated upon the victories I obtained in debate, I had not the most distant expectation of employing my gifts beyond the arena afforded within the walls of a popular institution. As for my almost invariable success at that period, I ascribe it less to the skill with which I was able to conduct an argument, than to the fact that upon every question I ever debated, I espoused, with earnestness and enthusiasm, that side only which I believed could be sustained by an appeal to the principles of justice, and was in accordance with the rights and liberties conferred by God upon the human race. Prior to the year 1830, even the best and most earnest advocates of the negro's cause had ventured to ask no more from the government and legislature than the enactment of measures for the mitigation of the evils of slavery, and the gradual abolition of the system, accompanied during the process by educational means of preparation. In that year, however, the cause received a powerful impulse from the speeches delivered by Henry Brougham, during his canvass of the electors of the great county of York. It was in the course of one of those speeches that he uttered the memorable words:

"Tell me not of rights—talk not of the property of the planter in his slaves. I deny the right; I acknowledge not the property. The principles, the feelings of our common nature rise in rebellion against it. Be the appeal made to the understanding or to the heart, the sentence is the same that rejects it. In vain you tell me of laws that sanction such a claim! There is a law above all the enactments of human codes—the same throughout the world, the same in all time. Such as it was before the daring genius of Columbus pierced the night of ages, and opened to one world the sources of power, wealth, and knowledge; to another, all unutterable woes; such it is at this day; it is the law written by the finger of God on the heart of man; and by that law, unchangeable and eternal, while men despise fraud, and loathe rapine, and abhor blood, they shall reject with indignation the wild and guilty fantasy, that man can hold property in man."

As this speech was delivered in the month of July, another, equally distinguished by lofty eloquence, masterly reasoning, and irresistible power, was delivered in Edinburg by a popular divine, the late Rev. Dr. Andrew Thompson. At a great meeting, at which the Lord Provost presided, a petition to Parliament was proposed, praying for the abolition of slavery, at the "earliest practicable period." Dr. Thompson moved as an amendment, that the word "immediately" should be substituted. The amendment was seconded; but because the speakers took for their motto, "*Fiat justitia ruat cœlum*," the Lord Provost rose and left the chair, declaring that he could not, as chief magistrate of Endinburg, countenance a meeting where such sentiments were uttered and applauded. The meeting, however, was not dissolved before it was decided by acclamation that another meeting should be held in the same place to support an energetic petition to Parliament for the total and immediate abolition of slavery. That meeting was held, and it was then that Dr. Thompson delivered the grand oration to which I have referred, in which he met every objection urged against immediate emancipation, and moved a petition to Parliament, of which the following is a part, and which I quote as one of the most just and comprehensive, as well as eloquent, expositions of the nature and evils of slavery:

"The voice of a disappointed and impatient nation now calls loudly for some prompt and comprehensive measure to redress the bondsman's wrongs; and your petitioners, as a part of that nation, can now no longer repress the full and earnest expression of their conviction, that man cannot hold property in man; that slavery is a violation of the principles of natural right and the laws of revealed religion; that it involves severities on the part of the slaveholder, and sufferings on the part of the slave, which no laws can prevent; that to keep up by taxation a system so essentially iniquitous ought to be felt as an intolerable burden, both by the legislature and the people; that all attempts at palliative and prepatory measures, while the unjust and immoral principle of the system remains, must be delusive, and have hitherto only mocked the sufferings of the slave, riveted the prejudices and consolidated the opposition of the slaveholder, and left upon the nation the unmitigated guilt of these flagrant wrongs; and nothing less can satisfy the demands of eternal justice than the full and absolute and immediate termination of the evil."

Let me also quote the magnificent peroration of the Doctor's speech, in which he boldly confronts the danger of insurrection in the event of immediate emancipation:

"But if you push me, and still urge the argument of insurrection and bloodshed, for which you are far more indebted to fancy than to fact, as I have shown you, then I say, Be it so. I repeat that maxim taken from a heathen book, but pervading the whole Book of God, '*Fiat justitia ruat cœlum!*' Righteousness, sir, is the pillar of the universe. Break down that pillar, and the universe falls into ruin and desolation. But preserve it, and though the fair fabric may sustain partial dilapidations, it may be rebuilt and repaired—it will be rebuilt and repaired and restored to all its pristine strength and magnificence and beauty. If there must be violence, let it even come, for it will soon pass away—let it come and rage its little hour, since it is to be succeeded by lasting freedom and prosperity and happiness. Give me the hurricane rather than the pestilence. Give me the hurricane, with its thunder and its lightning and its tempest; give me the hurricane, with its partial and temporary devastations, awful though they be;—give me the hurricane, with its purifying, healthful, salutary effects; give me the hurricane, infinitely rather than the noisome pestilence, whose path is never crossed, whose silence is never disturbed, whose progress is never arrested by one sweeping blast from the heavens; which walks peacefully and sullenly through the length and breadth of the land, breathing poison into every heart, and carrying havoc into every home, enervating all that is strong, detaching all that is beautiful, and casting its blight over the fairest and happiest scenes of human life; and which, from day to day, and from year to year, with intolerant and interminable malignity, sends its thousands and its tens of thousands of hapless victims into the ever-yawning and never-satisfied grave!"

These speeches, which I read at the time, produced a powerful effect upon my mind, and inspired me with a strong desire to render myself, if possible, useful in some way in promoting the great work of the abolition of a system so destructive of the happiness, and opposed to the right, of nearly a million of our fellow-subjects; at war, too, with the genius and maxims of British law, and with the principles and precepts of Christianity. In the Summer of the year 1831, and when I had been about six months married, I offered myself to the Agency Committee of the Anti-Slavery Society, and by that Committee my services were accepted as a lecturer, and I went forth to advocate the Abolition of Colonial slavery, upon the principle which I had myself adopted in the more humble efforts which I had made for the furtherance of the same object. The principle laid down for my guidance was one which I had already adopted and advocated, and which I could, therefore, with confidence promulgate and defend. It was this—"That the system of colonial slavery is a crime in the sight of God, and ought to be immediately and forever abolished."

The object of the Agency Committee was to prepare the way for a general expression of the public feeling, when the proper time should arrive, by widely disseminating an accurate knowledge of the nature and effects of colonial slavery. I shall never forget the fear and trembling with which I entered upon my new and important duties, nor how much I owe to the kindness and encouragement I received at the hands of those who coöperated with me at the commencement of my public labors. I continued in this work until the middle of 1833. While prosecuting it I was called to encounter the opposition sent against me by the West Indian party, who engaged a gentleman of considerable oratorical powers to follow me to the various places in which I held meetings, and there either lecture in reply to me, or meet me on the platform for public debate. My most memorable conflict with this champion of the pro-slavery cause was in my native town of Liverpool, where our discussion took place in the spacious amphitheatre, which was crowded for six nights by audiences made up alike of the friends and opponents of the abolition of slavery. A similar discussion afterwards took place in the city of Glasgow. Though both these places were, at the time when these discussions were held, the strongholds of the supporters of West Indian Slavery, the verdict, nevertheless, was in favor of the immediate extinction of the system. In the cities of Glasgow and Edinburg, my successful advocacy of the claims of the oppressed were recognized by the presentation of valuable testimonials, which I hope will remain as cherished heirlooms of my family.

In the year 1832, my labors were increased by the efforts necessary to induce the newly enfranchised constituencies to pledge their candidates to the support of a measure for the total and immediate abolition of slavery. The success of the government measure for the abolition of British Colonial Slavery seemed to bring to a termination the labors of the friends of the negro, so far as his personal liberty was concerned, and my "occupation," as his humble champion, appeared to be "gone." The friends whom I had made during my anti-slavery labors were kindly solicitous respecting my future welfare, and were anxious to enable me to embark in some career, at once lucrative and honorable. They chose for me that of the law, believing that as a barrister I might successfully employ the abilities I had already exhibited as the vindicator of the claims of the colonial bondsman. They generously proposed, not only to provide me the means of acquiring the necessary qualifications for my new profession, but also of supporting my family in the meantime. An unexpected scene of labor, however, was about to open itself before me. During the discussion in Parliament of the Abolition Bill, there arrived in this country the representative of the New England Anti-Slavery Society. That representative was William Lloyd Garrison, to whom I was introduced immediately after he reached this city, and with whom I have been on terms of the most intimate friendship ever since. I was able to render Mr. Garrison some service in the attainment of the object which brought him to our shores, which was the exposure of the true character of a society, largely patronized by the slaveholders of America, for the colonization of the colored people of that country; a society which, through the plausible representations of its agent in England, had found favor in the eyes of some of our leading philanthropists. After holding meetings in London, I accompanied Mr. Garrison to Bath, to see the venerable William Wilberforce, who, a few weeks afterwards, was removed by death from the scene of his labors, but not before he had witnessed the achievement of the great work to which in early life he had consecrated his powers. In company with Mr. Garrison, too, I followed the remains of that good man to their final resting place in Westminster Abbey. In the course of my many conversations with Mr. Garrison, I acquired an intimate knowledge of the state of the anti-slavery cause in America, and felt an earnest desire to become a missionary to that country, for the proclamation of the same great truths which had wrought so salutary and decisive an effect upon the majority of my own countrymen. Mr. Garrison was urgent in his entreaties that I would become his coadjutor, and promised on his return home to send me an official invitation from the society he represented. Before his departure, I gave him a pledge that, if I could induce the Emancipation Societies of Great Britain to make themselves chargeable with the expenses of my mission, I would follow him to the United States, and join him in the effort he was making to awaken the minds of his countrymen to a just conception of the shame and guilt attached to their toleration of the enslavement of one-sixth of their entire population. On making known to the committees in Edinburg and Glasgow my wish to visit America, they generously undertook to support the expenses of my mission for a period of three years, or longer, if my labors should continue beyond that term. Amongst those who entered most warmly into my design was the late noble-minded and philanthropic Joseph Sturge, who not only offered to contribute to the expense of the passage of myself and family to America, but rendered me important aid in the formation of a society in London, for the abolition of slavery and the slave trade throughout the world. I need scarcely say, that my determination to enter upon this new field of exertion put an end to the project which had been formed for assisting me to become a member of the British bar.

In the autumn of 1833, I received a communication from the New England Anti-Slavery Society, seconding the request which Mr. Garrison had made, and I wrote in reply to say, that after occupying myself until the 1st of August, 1834, in lecturing upon American slavery, and in the formation of societies to aid its abolition, I would embark for the United States. This assurance I fulfilled, and after uniting in the celebration of negro emancipation on the 1st of August, in the cities of Edinburg and Glasgow, I left Liverpool on my anti-slavery mission to the United States, carrying with me addresses to the President of the Republic, and to the people of America, from the London Society for the abolition of slavery and the slave trade throughout the world. My labors in the United States extended from the 22d September, 1834, when I landed at New York, to the 28th November, 1835, when, at the solicitation of those who were concerned for my personal safety, I consented to take passage from Boston in a brig bound to New Brunswick in the British Possessions.

I must be forgiven, if I say no more regarding my labors in America during my first visit, than that I was treated with the most abounding kindness by the friends of the abolition cause, and received their warm thanks for the services rendered by me to that cause while sojourning amongst them. As for any sacrifices I made, or perils I encountered, by my visit, I count them as less than dust in the balance, and thank God I had a share in sowing that precious seed which is now bearing such abundant fruits. From the time of my return from the United States until the Autumn of 1837, I was unceasingly employed in visiting various parts of the United Kingdom, for the purpose of lecturing upon the subject of American slavery, and promoting the transmission to America of memorials and protests on that subject. During that period, I maintained a discussion in Glasgow of five days' duration, with the Rev. Robert J. Breckinridge, of Kentucky, in the course of which I vindicated the policy and measures of the American Anti-Slavery Society, unveiled the hideous deformity of American slavery, and exposed the complicity and guilt of the American churches. This debate was published and widely circulated, and there is reason to believe that the facts it made known caused the character of American slavery to be better understood.

The system of negro apprenticeship, which had taken the place of slavery in the British Colonies, had been found to be, in its practical working, but a modified form of the system which it had superseded; and those who had always advocated the bestowment of absolute and unconditional freedom felt it their duty to demand an abridgment of the term of his apprenticeship. In the movement for this object the late Mr. Sturge took a leading part, and was joined by me in the Autumn of 1837. At a conference of friends of abolition, it was agreed to petition Parliament in favor of the termination of the apprenticeship on the 1st of the ensuing August. In the prosecution of this object we had not the benefit, in the first instance, of the coöperation of the Committee of the Anti-Slavery Society or of any of the distinguished parliamentary supporters of negro emancipation. At a later stage, however, we had the aid of the all-powerful voice, both in the House of Lords, and in public meetings, of Henry, Lord Brougham, whose accession to our ranks communicated a mighty impetus to the cause, and greatly contributed to the victory which crowned our efforts. Though to the last opposed by the administration, and on every occasion but one outvoted in both Houses of Parliament, such was the overwhelming force of public opinion, that the government was compelled to address dispatches to the Governors of the Colonies, directing them to issue measures for the abolition of the system on the day to which our petitions pointed. Accordingly, on the 16th July, 1838, the West India mail brought the intelligence that in the Local Assemblies and Courts of Policy, bills had been introduced, intended to confer entire freedom upon the negro on the 1st of August. By these measures, the colored population of our dependencies were delivered two years earlier than the time fixed by the Abolition Act, from the oppressions and cruelties which had been inflicted upon them during their transition state.

About the time that we were called upon to celebrate the abolition of the last remaining vestige of slavery within our own West Indian dominions, the attention of the public of this country was drawn to the sufferings and mortality occasioned by a drought prevailing amongst the inhabitants of the Northwest Provinces of British India. About the same time, also, I was solicited by the late Sir Thomas Fowell Buxton and other members of the Aborigines' Protection Society, to present the claims, of that benevolent and excellent body to the notice of the people of this country. In the mean time, I had become acquainted with several gentleman who had spent their official lives in India, and had returned to their native land with a sincere desire to improve the condition of the people amongst whom their public duties had been discharged. Sharing in the laudable wish cherished by these worthy persons, and anxious to serve both the general object of the Aborigines' Protection Society, and the cause of good government in India, I consented to act as a lecturer for the Society, on condition that I might give prominence to the claims of India, and the condition of the natives of that country.

I soon found, however, that the subject of India engrossed all my thoughts, and was sufficient of itself to occupy all my time, and to command all the strength I was able to bestow upon it. I obtained leave, therefore, from the committee, to relinquish my engagement, and to devote myself exclusively to the work of disseminating information relating to the government of India, and the treatment of its native subjects. A provisional committee for the formation of a British India Society was soon after established in London, and on the 6th of July, 1839, that Society was inaugurated at a great meeting held in Freemasons' Hall, under the presidency of Lord Brougham. Towards the close of the same year I delivered a course of six lectures in Manchester, "On the Condition, Resources, and Prospects of British India, and the Duties and Responsibilities of Great Britain to do justice to that vast empire." In those lectures I endeavored to impress upon the minds of the people in the cotton manufacturing districts the necessity of looking to India for a supply of the raw material so essential to their prosperity. These lectures were attended by large and influential audiences, and were subsequently published in a volume, which contained also an able essay on "The Past and Present Condition of the Cotton Trade of India," by General Briggs, and a colored map, indicating the different soils upon which all the varieties of cotton brought into the British market had been successfully cultivated. I continued to lecture in connection with the British India Society until June, 1841, when, with the consent of the committee, I made an offer of my services, gratuitously, to the Council of the National anti-Corn Law League, during their struggle for the abolition of all taxes upon the food of the people. My offer was accepted, and the members of the Council, in return, pledged themselves, as far as competent, to coöperate with the British India Society (upon the settlement of their own question) for the attainment of the great object of the Society—justice to India.

On the termination of the labors in which I had been engaged for the extinction of the system of Negro Apprenticeship, the friends of that object were pleased to recognize my services by the presentation of a testimonial in money, amounting to a very considerable sum.

On taking up the cause of India, I thought I could not better apply the generous gift of my warm-hearted friends, than by purchasing with it a portion of East India stock, the holding of which would entitle me to a voice in the Court of Proprietors. On entering that Court, my first speech was in favor of the revision and amelioration of the Land-tax of India; a tax operating to the serious depression of agriculture, and the impoverishment of the cultivators of the soil. I next took a very active part in the debates relating to the dethronement of a distinguished Hindoo Prince, the Rajah of Sattara, and in the exposure of the iniquitous means which had been employed to dispossess that virtuous sovereign of his dominions. In conjunction with the committee of the British India Society, I originated a periodical entitled *The British Indian Advocate*, the motto of which was, "Justice to India, Prosperity to England, Freedom to the Slave." This publication which was in the form of a newspaper, was continued at intervals until the end of 1849.

In uniting myself to the anti-corn-law movement my principal object was to awaken the attention of the religious and philanthropic portions of the people of Great Britain to the vast social and moral evils generated by the laws restricting the supply of food. I therefore obtained permission to invite by circular ministers of religion, of all denominations, to meet in conference in Manchester, and pronounce a judgment upon the corn-law monopoly. Nearly seven hundred ministers assembled, and were occupied in deliberation for four days. The result was, a unanimous condemnation of the Corn Laws as unjust in principle, pernicious in their operation, and at war with the beneficent dispensations of Divine Providence. A similar meeting of the ministers and office-bearers of the various religious bodies in Scotland was soon afterwards held in the city of Edinburgh, at which a similar decision was arrived at. During the latter part of the year 1841, and the greater part of 1842, my time was spent in attending public meetings in company with Mr. Cobden, Mr. Bright, and other eminent friends of free trade. I have not unfrequently been subjected to the imputation of having aided the movement for the abolition of the Corn Laws, with a view to pecuniary advantage. Such was not the case, as the leaders of that movement who are now living can testify, and as the records of the Council of the League will show. My labors were as independent and free as those of any nobleman or gentleman who took part in the agitation. Let me on this occasion, however, say, what I have never publicly stated before, that, previously to my offer of gratuitous assistance to the Anti-Corn-Law League, I had been proffered by the protectionist party of this country a handsome provision for life, and an elevated position, on the simple condition of declaring my adhesion to the principles maintained by that party. After considering the proposal made to me, I returned for my answer, that if I ever expressed any opinions on the subject of the Corn Laws, they would be in condemnation of them, and in favor of their unconditional and absolute repeal. So much for the justice of the charge to which I have been exposed of having been swayed in my actions on the question of free trade by mercenary considerations. Let me add, that neither on the question of free trade, nor on any other question I have advocated, have I ever in my life stipulated for pecuniary compensation. There is not a document in existence that will show that I ever entered into a money bargain for my services.

Towards the close of 1842, an opportunity presented itself for my visiting India, and spending a year in that country in the investigation of the actual condition of the people, and the character and effects of the government under which they lived. That opportunity I gladly embraced, and landed in Calcutta, in January, 1843. Reports of my humble efforts in behalf of India had gone before me, and I was soon called upon to undertake the official representation in this country of his Highness the Rajah of Sattara, and his Majesty the King of Delhi. After visiting both those princes, and enjoying extensive means of acquiring a knowledge of the wants and wishes of the people, I returned to this country in the Spring of 1844, and forthwith devoted myself to the management of the important business committed to my hands—laboring at the same time, occasionally, to promote the anti-Corn-Law movement and other objects in which I had been previously interested.

The year 1847 saw me returned to Parliament. My votes, during the time that I was a representative of the people, will show that I was not unfaithful to the principles for the sake of which I had been returned.

During the parliamentary recesses of the years 1848–9, I labored assiduously, in conjunction with Sir Joshua Walmsley, in seeking to establish the principles and promote the objects of the National Parliamentary Reform Association. In pursuance of these ends we traveled extensively, and addressed great public meetings in various parts of the kingdom.

During the recess of 1850 I crossed the Atlantic a second time, for the purpose of witnessing the progress of anti-slavery principles during the fifteen years which had elapsed since my last visit. I soon found myself overwhelmed with invitations to deliver speeches on the all-engrossing question of slavery; and that I might, to some extent, comply with them, and thereby render some additional service to the cause for which I had labored when it was in its infancy, I protracted my stay beyond the period of the reassembling of Parliament, in 1851, and, for so doing, incurred the serious displeasure of some amongst my constituents who did not share my feelings of attachment to the great struggle for freedom in America. In 1852, as you all know, I was unsuccessful in my attempt to be a second time returned as representative of the great metropolitan borough of the Tower Hamlets; but I am glad that my place has been so well supplied by the election of my honorable friend, Mr. Ayrton, who sits beside me, and and who, I trust, will long continue to deserve and receive the confidence and support of the vast constituency which I once had the honor to serve.

Acting from a sincere conviction of duty, I felt it incumbent upon me to oppose, during the years 1853–54–55, the war between Great Britain and her allies, and Russia. The advocacy of the views which I then entertained, and have seen no reason to alter, brought me neither profit nor popularity; but I can reflect with satisfaction upon the course which I was at that period led to pursue, and have since met with not a few persons, who, though they were amongst my most strenuous opponents, are now frank enough to admit that their sentiments have undergone a decided change.

During the years 1856–57–58, I was, as many of you are aware, a second time a resident on the plains of India, engaged during that time in investigations connected with the adaptation of certain native products to the manufacturing purposes of this country. While there, I witnessed the outbreak and culmination of the sepoy mutiny, respecting the causes of which I might say much, were this the time or the place. I returned home in the middle of 1858, but so prostrated by the effects of the climate, that it was not until the commencement of 1860, and then but very feebly, that I was sufficiently recovered to be able to stand once more before an audience of my countrymen. I then divided my time between the advocacy of the cause of Parliamentary Peform, based upon the principles of the Northern Political Reform Union, and the discussion by lectures and public addresses, of the American question; my object, as regarded America, being, to enable the people of England rightly to understand the issues involved in the struggle then going on in the United States between the Republican and Democratic parties. I deemed it, also, my duty, when occasion seemed to require it, to explain and vindicate the principles and measures of the American Anti-Slavery Society—a body which has been much misunderstood, and often willfully misrepresented, in this country; but to the purity and fidelity of which I have at all times, and at any temporary sacrifice, borne my humble but sincere and unqualified testimony.

During the year 1860, I endeavored, as far as I was able, to gratify the very general desire to learn the particulars respecting the career, especially through the later years of his life, of that heroic champion of the slave, and noble martyr in the cause of freedom and humanity—John Brown. I have delivered many lectures, in various parts of the kingdom, descriptive of the anti-slavery labors, the prison-life, the sublime death, and funeral honors of that illustrious man, who fell at last a victim to the guilty fears and fiendish revenge of the slaveholding tyrants of Virginia. When the second great political conflict between the Republican and pro-slavery parties of America took place, I did what I could, by public addresses and otherwise, to give correct information in regard to the real merits of the question between the supporters of Mr. Lincoln and the political organizations with which they had to contend. During the years 1861 and 1862 I have been constantly lecturing upon the subject of the slaveholders' rebellion, the prospects of the war, and the bearing of events upon the question of emancipation. No man, more than myself, has either regretted or condemned the course taken by the majority of the public journals of this country on the subject of the disruption in America; nor has any one rejoiced more than I have done in the recent manifestations of that sound anti-slavery feeling for which this country was honorably conspicuous thirty years ago.

My lord, ladies, and gentlemen, I have now, at the risk of exhausting your patience, gone through "The story of my life, from year to year," not so much with a view of imparting information to you, knowing, as I do, that many of you are familiar with the events in my history—as of furnishing to those who may hereafter read the address you have presented to me, the facts which will enable them to fill up the outline which that address has so ably but flatteringly sketched. A few more words, and I have done. On every question which, in the course of my public life, I have brought before the attention of the people, I have always sought the support of some great principle which could not be successfully assailed, the justice and importance of which the people would perceive and appreciate. On the question of slavery, I early satisfied myself that it was impossible that man could rightfully become the proprietor of his fellow-man; and that all questions relating to mere treatment—of few or many stripes—of much or little food—of this or that kind of clothing—were questions of secondary, and comparatively insignificant consideration. That the essence of slavery and its stupendous guilt consisted in reducing a man to the level of a chattel—in invading his natural and divine right to be personally free. That no man could become a slave-owner without usurping the authority and prerogative of the Creator.

Who gave us only over beasts, flesh, fowl,
Dominion absolute; but over man
Made us not lords; such title to himself
Reserving, human left from human free.

On this rock I planted my feet when I commenced the discussion of the anti-slavery question, and I ascribe any measure of success which followed my labors to the fact of my uncompromising fidelity to the eternal and immutable truth, that man cannot hold property in man. When my attention was called to the nature and operation of the Corn Laws I endeavored to discover some principle upon which I might found my opposition and defy assault. I did not, in the first instance, enter upon a particular inquiry into the effects of those laws upon a special branch of British manufacture. My examination was directed to the principles by which the intercourse of nations and communities should be governed in exchanging with each other the various fruits of the industry of their hands, the ingenuity of their heads, and the fertility of their soils. I read in that book which we all reverence, that God had given for the benefit of man, "every herb bearing seed which is upon the face of the earth, and every tree which is the fruit of a tree yielding seed," and I came to the conclusion that all laws tending to intercept the food which is necessary for the sustentation of man, or to raise it to an artificial value, for the benefit of a particular class, were at variance with the arrangements of Divine Providence, and ought to be immediately abolished. In seeking to obtain better government for India, and other dependencies of the British Crown, I have been guided by the principle, that sovereignty is a trust for which we are responsible, and that we can scarcely be guilty of a greater crime than to make the happiness of the millions we have conquered subservient to the interests of the conquerors. I have been guided by the principle, that to those from whom we expect allegiance we should render protection—that we owe them just laws, together with every effort to ameliorate their condition. In my efforts to promote the enfranchisement of my countrymen, I have been guided by what I believe to be the principle of the British Constitution, namely, the right of every man called to pay taxes to have a voice in the election of those who shall in the first place levy the taxes, and then dispose of the money raised by them. I have, therefore, advocated the doctrine of manhood suffrage, protected by the ballot. I have never had any serious apprehensions of the consequences that would flow from the largest extension of the franchise, if accompanied by proper safeguards. If I wanted any proof of the intelligence of the working-classes of this country, and their fitness for the political power I would confer upon them, I would point to the state of things in our manufacturing districts, and to the conduct of our unemployed operatives. I trust the admirable demeanor they have exhibited will not be forgotten when representative reform shall again be under consideration. As a proof of their clear-sightedness and understanding, I would refer to the course they have pursued in reference to the great struggle in America. As regards the press of this country, its sympathy generally has been decidedly on the side of the Southern slaveholding rebels; and, doubtless, our newspapers have represented, with tolerable accuracy, the feelings of the upper, moneyed, and mercantile classes of the community. But there has been no sympathy with the South, or very little, amongst the mass of the intelligent working-classes of Great Britain. Their hatred of slavery, and their desire for emancipation all over the world, have remained unchanged, and as strong as ever. All honor to the half-million operatives of the North of England who have borne with such heroic fortitude their grievous privations. The fettered millions of America have no more sincere or hearty friends than the pale-faced working-men and women of our manufacturing districts, who are reconciled to their scanty fare and gloomy prospects by the thought that their sufferings are working out the deliverance of the oppressed. The sublime resignation and self-forgetfulness of these people—their scrupulous observance of law—their whole-souled attachment to the cause of human freedom—their quick and clear perception of the real merits of the contest between the North and the South—their superiority to the arts of those who have been sent amongst them to mislead and delude them—their appreciation of the labor question involved in the contest—these things should excite the admiration of all classes of the community, and teach a valuable lesson to our rulers and the nation at large. It now only remains for me, before sitting down, to express, out of a full heart, my thanks to the friends around me for the testimonial of their regard which I shall carry from this place. As long as I shall live, this address will be to me a source of gratitude, pride, and encouragement; and I hope it will animate those who may come after me, to show a similar devotion to the cause of truth, justice, and human freedom, convinced by the results of my humble labors, that they will not labor in vain; and assured, by this night's proceedings, that they will, at last, win the respect and confidence of those who have been the witness of their fidelity. My, lord, ladies, and gentlemen, with best wishes for your personal and domestic happiness, and for the triumph of every good cause in which you are engaged, I now bid you farewell.

Mr. Thompson resumed his seat amidst enthusiastic and prolonged cheering.

VOLUNTARIES.

BY RALPH WALDO EMERSON.

I.

Low and mournful be the strain,
Haughty thought be far from me;
Tones of penitence and pain,
Moanings of the tropic sea;
Low and tender in the cell
Where a captive sits in chains,
Crooning ditties treasured well
From his Afric's torrid plains.
Sole estate his sire bequeathed—
Hapless sire to hapless son—
Was the wailing song he breathed,
And his chain when life was done.

What his fault or what his crime?
Or what ill planet crossed his prime?
Heart too soft and will too weak
To front the fate that crouches near—
Dove beneath the vulture's beak—
Will song dissuade the thirsty spear?
Dragged from his mother's arms and breast,
Displaced, disfurnished here,
His wistful toil to do his best
Chilled by a ribald jeer.
Great men in the Senate sate,
Sage and hero, side by side,
Building for their sons the State
Which they shall rule with pride.
They forebore to break the chain
Which bound the dusky tribe,
Checked by the owners' fierce disdain,
Lured by "Union" as the bribe.
Destiny sat by, and said,
"Pang for pang your seed shall pay,
Hide in false peace your coward head
I bring round the harvest day."

II.

Freedom all winged expands,
Nor perches in a narrow place,
Her broad van seeks unplanted lands,
She loves a poor and virtuous race.
Clinging to the colder zone
Whose dark sky sheds the snow-flake down,
The snow-flake in her banner's star,
Her stripes the boreal streamers are.
Long she loved the Northman well;
Now the iron age is done,
She will not refuse to dwell
With the offspring of the sun,
Foundling of the desert far,
Where palms plume and siroccos blaze,
He roves unhurt the burning ways
In climates of the Summer star.
He has avenues to God
Hid from men of northern brain,
Far beholding, without cloud,
What these with slowest steps attain.
If once the generous chief arrive
To lead him willing to be led,
For freedom he will strike and strive,
And drain his heart till he be dead.

III.

In an age of fops and toys,
Wanting wisdom, void of right,
Who shall nerve heroic boys
To hazard all in freedom's fight,
Break sharply off their jolly games,
Forsake their comrades gay,
And quit proud homes and youthful dames,
For famine, toil, and fray?
Yet on the nimble air benign
Speed nimbler messages,
That waft the breath of grace divine
To hearts in sloth and ease.
So nigh is grandeur to our dust,
So near is God to man,
When Duty whispers low, *Thou must*,
The youth replies, *I can*.

IV.

Oh, well for the fortunate soul
Which Music's wings infold,
Stealing away the memory
Of sorrows new and old!
Yet happier he whose inward sight,
Stayed on his subtile thought,
Shuts his sense on toys of time,
To vacant bosoms brought.
But best befriended of the God
He who, in evil times,
Warned by an inward voice,
Heeds not the darkness and the dread,
Biding by his rule and choice,
Feeling only the fiery thread
Leading over heroic ground,
Walled with mortal terror round,
To the aim which him allures,
And the sweet heaven his deed secures.

V.

Stainless soldier on the walls,
Knowing this—and knows no more—
Whoever fights, whoever falls,
Justice conquers evermore,
Justice after as before,
And he who battles on her side,
God—though he were ten times slain—
Crowns him victor glorified,
Victor over death and pain;
Forever; but his erring foe,
Self-assured that he prevails,
Looks froth his victim lying low,
And sees aloft the red right arm
Redress the eternal scales.
He, the poor foe, whom angels foil,
Blind with pride, and fooled by hate,
Writhes within the dragon coil,
Reserved to a speechless fate.

VI.

Blooms the laurel which belongs
To the valiant chief who fights;
I see the wreath, I hear the songs
Lauding the Eternal Rights,
Victors over daily wrongs;
Awful victors, they misguide
Whom they will destroy,
And their coming triumph hide
In our downfall, or our joy;
Speak it firmly—these are gods,
All are ghosts beside.

—*Atlantic Monthly for October.*

When James T. Brady, the lawyer of New York opened a lawyer's office, he took a basement room which had previously been occupied by a cobbler. He was somewhat annoyed by the previous occupant's callers, and irritated by the fact that he had few of his own. One day an Irishman entered. "The cobbler's gone I see," said he. "I should think he had," tartly responded Brady. "And what do ye sell?" he asked, looking at the solitary table and a few law books. "Blockheads," responded Brady. "Be gorra," said the Irishman, "ye must be doing a mighty fine business—ye haint got but one left."

The Shepherd and the Dogs.—Somebody, when asked what was the nature of the French government before 1839, replied that it was "an absolute monarchy, tempered by epigrams." Such is still the condition of Rome. It is a theocracy tempered by "Pasquino" and "Morfario." The last *mot* reported of these important public functionaries was uttered by them on the occasion of the Pope's intended *villeggiatura*. "What will become of us, poor sheep," asked Pasquino, "now that the shepherd is going to leave us?" "Don't be alarmed," replied Morfario, "he leaves the dogs behind," alluding to the French.

Bombardment of Fish.—During the bombardment of Port Hudson, a shell which fell into the river exploded under water, and caused such a shock to the fish that seventy or e